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Near East & South Asia

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CONTENTS

13 March 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Palestinian Affairs

PLO Officials Visit Cairo, Assess Peace Talks [MENA] 3

ARAB AFRICA

Algeria

Interior Ministry Declaration on State of Emergency [Algiers TV] 4
 Interior Minister on Detainee Release [Algiers TV] 5
 Interior Minister on Clashes Death Toll [Algiers Radio] 5
 500 Detainees Transferred; Release Possible [Algiers Radio] 5

Egypt

DPRK Vice President Denies Ship Carrying Scuds [MENA] 5

Libya

'Arab Element' Warns U.S. About 1986 'Mistake' [JANA] 6
 People's Committee Denies Polisario Given Arms [JANA] 6

Morocco

'Sources' Deny Army Shells Farsia, Violates Truce [MAP] 6

Sudan

Report Claims Sabri al-Banna Residing in Khartoum [AFP] 6

IRAQ

'Aziz Answers Security Council Members [INA] 7
 Initial Summary of Saddam's Audience With Kurds [INA] 9
 Al-Majid Visits Units, Denies Siege of Kurds [Baghdad Radio] 10
 Offensive in North, Clashes in South Reported [IRNA] 10
 Artillery Attack on Kurdish Positions [IRNA] 11
 Helicopters, Tanks Used in North [Voice of the Iraqi People] 11
 More on Defense Minister Executing 10 Officers [Voice of the People of Kurdistan] 11
 Writer Urges Continuation of Talks With Kurds [BABIL 20 Feb] 11
 Writer Warns About Situation in North, South [BABIL 7 Mar] 12
 BABIL: Bush Suffering 'Temporary Insanity' [24 Feb] 14
 Kurds Seize Intelligence 'Hirelings' in Karkuk [Voice of Rebellious Iraq] 15
 Kurdish Radio Appeals for Hunger, Cold Relief [Voice of the People of Kurdistan] 16
 Urges Lifting Blockade on Kurdistan [Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan] 16
 Ramadan Receives New Libyan Charge d'Affaires [Baghdad Radio] 17
 Paper Supports IRA Attacks Against British [INA] 17

ISRAEL

Reported Sale of Patriot to PRC 'Baseless Lie' [Jerusalem Radio]	18
'Sources' Assess Iraqi Military Might [Jerusalem Radio]	18
Levi, U.S. Official Discuss Syria, Palestinians [Jerusalem Radio]	18
Egyptian Envoy Summoned on Espionage Affair [Jerusalem TV]	18
Poll Shows Labor Leading, Rabin Favored [HADASHOT 13 Mar]	19

JORDAN

King Confers With Bush, Baker on Peace Process [Amman Radio]	20
Minister on Shipments to Iraq, Egypt Ties [AKHBAR AL-USBU 12 Mar]	20

LEBANON

Nasrallah on Conditions for Rocket Attacks [VOM]	21
Hizballah Statement Condemns Algerian Regime [Voice of the Oppressed]	21

SYRIA

Al-Asad Delivers Speech on Start of New Term [Damascus Radio]	22
---	----

SOUTH ASIA

Afghanistan

Rabbani Urges UN To Oppose Kabul Role in Talks [IRNA]	36
---	----

Bangladesh

Ershad Relative, Wife of Former Official Arrested [Dhaka Radio]	36
Illness Kills 35 Burmese Refugees in Camps [Dhaka Radio]	36

Iran

Turkish Envoy Given Protest Over Cargo Seizure [Tehran Radio]	36
DPRK Protest to U.S. on Shipping Affair Cited [Tehran Radio]	36
Velayati Talks With Azerbaijani, Armenian Leaders [IRNA]	36
President Speaks With Rival Leaders [IRNA]	37
ICO Delegation Visits En Route to Baku [IRNA]	37

Pakistan

Prime Minister Comments on Regional Nuclear Talks [Islamabad Radio]	37
Views Minister's Firing, Corruption [Islamabad Radio]	37

Iraq

Tariq 'Aziz continued his visit to the United Nations. In an "impromptu speech" reported by INA, 'Aziz said that while the country is willing to cooperate in implementing Resolution 687, "Iraq will not bargain over its independence, its people's freedom, and its 6,000-year-old civilization." The agency also reported about Saddam's meeting with a Kurdish delegation. IRNA revealed that the Iraqi Armed Forces had launched an offensive in the north, while Tehran television cited reports by Tehran-based oppositionists about clashes in the south.

Israel

A WASHINGTON TIMES report that the country had transferred a Patriot missile or its technology to the PRC is a "baseless lie," the defense minister's media adviser told Jerusalem radio. Sources quoted by the radio assessed the Iraqi Army's offensive capability as improving and posing a threat, especially in the nonconventional field. Speaking to a visiting State Department official, the foreign minister delivered a "grave warning" about Syrian arms procurement and Damascus' "political terrorism" regarding the peace process, the radio noted separately. A poll published in HADASHOT showed Labor and Yitzhaq Rabin with a marginal lead over the Likud and Shamir in the June Knesset elections.

Syria

Al-Asad's speech to the People's Assembly marking the start of a new constitutional term was broadcast live by Damascus radio. In it, he stated that the country's conditions regarding the peace process will not change. He also maintained that the ship reported to be delivering Scuds "are not carrying missiles for Syria." As for regional arms manufacturing, al-Asad said that either the Arabs and Israel should both be fully allowed to produce arms, or both should be barred from it.

Egypt

The visiting DPRK vice president said reports that a North Korean ship is carrying Scud missiles "have absolutely no truth whatsoever," MENA reported.

Jordan

The prime minister described King Husayn's talks with President Bush as "friendly and understanding," Amman radio noted.

Palestinian Affairs

In Cairo, the PLO's Nabil Sha'th told the Egyptian foreign minister that "although it runs counter to all conditions for negotiations, the Israeli plan is indicative of some kind of progress," MENA disclosed. Expressing the opinion that the talks will resume in mid-April, Sha'th said that while Washington is the preferred venue for further talks, "the Arab delegations are willing to go to West Europe."

Algeria

An Interior Ministry statement broadcast by Algiers television maintained that recent security measures do not reflect a "retreat from democratic principles," and that "placing people in security centers is an extraordinary, precautionary measure which affects only those who behaved in a manner that constituted a serious threat to public order and security." The interior minister told the television that over 6,700 people have been detained in the unrest, and that an unspecified number will be released perhaps as soon as this week.

Libya

"A particular Arab element" warned the United States against repeating its 1986 "mistake" regarding the country, JANA noted, reporting on a story appearing in the London paper AL-HAWADITH. A Foreign Liaison source denied a British paper's report that Tripoli has provided new weapons to Polisario, the agency noted.

Lebanon

Hizballah leader Nasrallah said his group "does not believe it is useful" to fire rockets into Israel, but reserves the right to use all weapons at its disposal if Israel crosses into "the liberated areas," the clandestine Voice of the Mountain reported.

Sudan

Sabri al-Banna, also known as Abu-Nidal, is "presently residing in Khartoum" after having been expelled from Libya, according to the Qatari daily AL-RAYAH, which was cited by AFP.

Iran

The Turkish ambassador was summoned for a "vehement protest" regarding an Ankara court's verdict on the October 1991 seizure of a Cypriot-flagged ship bound for Iran, Tehran radio reported.

Morocco

"Authorized sources" denied Polisario charges that the armed forces had shelled locations in Western Sahara, MAP reported.

Palestinian Affairs

PLO Officials Visit Cairo, Assess Peace Talks

NC1203153192 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1216 GMT
12 Mar 92

[Text] Cairo, 12 Mar (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa met today with a Palestinian delegation comprised of Nabil Sha'th, political adviser to Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat; Sa'id Kamal, Palestinian ambassador to Cairo; and Zuhdi al-Qidrah, Fatah movement representative.

Sha'th said afterward that the meeting's aim was to assess the Washington talks and to brief 'Amr Musa on prospects for the next stage.

He said that the latest round of negotiations involved the presentation of a Palestinian peace plan and an Israeli plan, and he (noted) that although it runs counter to all conditions for negotiations, the Israeli plan is indicative of some kind of progress.

He noted that the two plans are difficult to attune because the Palestinian plan is based on enabling the people to rule themselves, which means autonomy as a prelude to the next phase, during which the Palestinian people's fate will be determined. He observed that the Israeli plan aims to perpetuate authority, racism, and settlements in the occupied land. But, he added, continuing the negotiations has some positive aspects, the most important of which is the United States' continued refusal to provide any loan guarantees until the settlements process is halted, which is a Palestinian demand.

Sha'th said that one of the negotiations' positive aspects is that continuing the peace process creates new conditions in Israel that might lead to changing the current

government, which insists on continuing its authority and the settlements process.

He noted that there are great difficulties, that the negotiations will not produce swift results, and that the intifadah is continuing in order to guarantee the people's continued resistance to occupation, all of which are evident. He said that Egypt appreciates the Palestinian plan, considers it positive, and regards our confrontation over the settlements as an important issue.

The Palestinian official said that continuing the negotiations is important because it is in the Palestinian people's interest. He added that consultations are currently under way between the Palestinian delegation and Egypt, as well as among the Arab delegations participating in the negotiations, to discuss preparations for the next stage of talks. He added: No date has yet been set, but I believe that the negotiations will be resumed some time between 17 and 24 April.

He stated that the negotiations will likely return to Washington, although the Arab delegations are willing to go to West Europe and are unanimous that any agreed venue should accept all delegations and that no delegation members should be excluded from attending.

He emphasized his opposition to holding the negotiations in the Middle East because negotiations might be held in the occupied territories.

He stressed the importance of achieving Arab coordination during the next stage and said that the PLO has proposed that foreign ministers meeting be held now or immediately after 'Id al-Fitr because Arab coordination is important for conveying Arab opinions to the United States so it will play its role in advancing the peace process and persuade the Israelis to accept international legitimacy. Sha'th praised the U.S. stand on the settlements and said it is a serious stand.

Algeria

Interior Ministry Declaration on State of Emergency

LD1303001592 Algiers ENTV Television Network
in Arabic 1900 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Statement issued by the Interior Ministry; date and place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Many voices recently expressed concern over our country's situation. In awareness of this and in hopes of enlightening public opinion, the Interior Ministry thus states that it is trying to and is determined to assure citizens, associations, and political parties that the actions being taken in Algeria completely meet the principles and standards of human rights as recognized by the international community. Undoubtedly objective observers have carefully followed Algeria's considerable efforts over the past few years in pursuing the democratic path and have recorded the noticeable progress which leaves no room for discussion and which has been achieved, for example, in the field of freedom of expression and assembly, both of which are fundamental elements definitely not subject to any restrictions.

Undoubtedly the world understands the actions of Algeria's state authorities—as is the case is in other countries—for it has become impossible for these authorities to remain indifferent or to pursue a negative course, because fate of an entire people has become threatened. Actually, Algeria's state of emergency was declared and enacted after the country experienced an extraordinary situation. However, all this was done within the provisions for such cases as stipulated in the Algerian Constitution, along the same lines of constitutions of countries which are well known for their democratic practices. The Algerian authorities are trying to restore public order, establish a better guarantee for the security of individuals and property and for the efficient management of public establishments, and to save democracy through the state of emergency. After a detailed study of the statutes implementing these administrative security measures imposed by the inevitabilities of public order and security, we can clearly conclude that there has been no retreat from democratic principles or any restriction in the scope of freedoms guaranteed to citizens; on the contrary, the attempt seeks to cleanse an environment which had moved toward opposing the development and crystalization of all these principles and freedoms.

Placing people in security centers is an extraordinary, precautionary measure which affects only those who behaved in a manner that constituted a serious threat to public order and security. It is not detention, banishment, or being placed in concentration camps, for those are practices that totally contravene our values and principles. The establishment of Algeria's democracy has had various results, including the emergence of fundamentalist groups whose aim was to shake the country's stability. The question is: Was terrorism possible? Naturally the answer is no.

Actually, Algeria's public authorities shouldered their responsibilities and embarked on implementing actions stipulated by the Constitution for such situations. Algeria's fate is in the hands of its sons who, with full wisdom and resolution and according to the path which the overwhelming majority desire to follow, are preserving the democratic process and protecting individual and collective rights and freedoms. They depend on constitutional and other means which have been acquired throughout our history. Thanks to our social-cultural heritage, all of which is based on tolerance, mercy, and respect for man, and to the virtue of the measures which were taken, our country is quickly returning to a calm, more stable, and more satisfactory atmosphere. The Interior Ministry would like to point out that the administration of the state of emergency has been entrusted to the civil authorities, who are managing and monitoring the situation.

The ministry would like to reaffirm that security centers are subject to the principles and conditions of human rights. Actually, measures for placing individuals in security centers can be appealed, family visits can visit, and health care is guaranteed. Precise organizational provisions have been prepared and strict instructions have been issued to the competent authorities to prevent any beatings, insults, torture, or any other behavior of this kind which would harm the honor or safety of the individuals in these centers.

As for the use of firearms, it should be pointed out that they were used in a composed and farsighted manner, and they were used against only assailants who were on the attack and who could not be stopped in any other way due to their ferocity, thus indicating that they had earlier participated in dangerous incidents. The men of the public order force are fully aware of the need to avoid the excessive use of firearms and to be calm, cool, and collected. Disregarding the isolated cases of self-defense, order, and rights under the law, firearms were used only after all other means of deterrence were exhausted. Regrettably and sadly, unarmed passersby were shot during the clashes between the security forces and the evil men who have been fed with ill thoughts and intentions which aim only at undermining the stability of the Algerian state and pursuing backwardness, darkness, and civil war.

Algeria does not intend to ignore its values or violate the international principles that it has adopted. It will continue to adhere to international human principles. This was the case as the state authorities concentrated on these values and principles and on legal ways to fight the lack of tolerance, violent extremism, and armed terrorism which seeks to obstruct the democratic process and to end it, even if this aim has not been openly declared.

The Interior Ministry reaffirms that all measures have been taken so that calm and stability can return and so that security prevails as soon as possible under the

auspices of strict respect for the law. The only goal of the state authorities is the protection of the institutions of the republican state.

This effort undoubtedly enjoys the full understanding of all.

Interior Minister on Detainee Release

*LD1203223592 Algiers ENTV Television Network
in Arabic 1900 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Report by correspondent Samia Azzi on news conference by Interior Minister Larbi Belkheir with unidentified correspondents in Algiers on 12 March; Belkheir comments are recorded]

[Text] [Azzi] After the interior minister gave a general overview of circumstances leading to the state of emergency, he concentrated on the need to safeguard national security:

[Belkheir] The first thing that we need before hope can return is security, for we cannot achieve anything without security and stability. If there were no security and stability there would be no democracy and no political, economic, and social action. All these cannot exist, and no one can do anything. The state of anarchy leads to destruction and loss, and it leads, from the point of view of public services which serve the public interest ... [changes thought] that is, it has reached a serious stage of deterioration which requires rebuilding it today.

[Azzi] The minister estimated the number of detainees resulting from recent incidents at 6,786 and said that they are kept in seven centers: Reggane, Ouargla, i-n-Salah, Bordj Omar Driss, Menia, the (el-Houmr) center at Adrar, and (i-n-Mguel) at Tamanrasset. He said that the dignity of the detainees is maintained inside these centers, and food and medical services are available:

[Belkheir] Orders or instructions were given to ensure that each person in a center, regardless of his circumstances or job, is treated in a respectful manner.

[Azzi] As for the prime minister's statement on releasing a number of detainees during the month of Ramadan, the interior minister commented:

[Belkheir] We are preparing, perhaps on certain days of this week, to release a number of those brothers whom we believe do not pose a threat to public order. We say: Anyone who constitutes a threat to security cannot be released.

[Azzi] The journalists raised other issues, including the issue of the vacant municipal councils and the possibility of the Islamic Salvation Front appealing against the judicial decision dissolving it. The interior minister replied that justice will be the arbiter in both cases.

Interior Minister on Clashes Death Toll

*LD1303000292 Algiers Radio Algiers Network
in Arabic 2300 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Report on news conference by Interior Minister Larbi Belkheir with unidentified correspondents in Algiers on 12 March]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] As for the number of those arrested among the members of the elected councils, the interior minister said that 101 elected members of wilayah councils and 528 elected members of municipal councils had been arrested. [passage omitted]

Before ending his news conference the interior minister reiterated the number of those killed among the members of the security forces and the people. He stated:

[Begin Belkheir recording] The number of those killed during the events of this period is 103, including 31 members of the security forces: the police, the gendarmerie, and the National People's Army. The number of those who were injured is 414, including 144 members of the security forces. [end recording]

500 Detainees Transferred; Release Possible

*LD1303084592 Algiers Radio Algiers Network
in Arabic 0300 GMT 13 Mar 92*

[Text] Several sources have reported from the Reggane security center that about 500 detainees may have been transferred from the security center to the police station. According to the same sources this news, which has not been officially confirmed, foretells the glad tidings of a release of prisoners from the center in the next few days.

Egypt

DPRK Vice President Denies Ship Carrying Scuds

*NC1203121992 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1140 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] Cairo, 12 Mar (MENA)—DPRK Vice President Yi Chong-ok said that his meeting with President Husni Mubarak today was fruitful and successful, and he stated that the two countries enjoy close relations of friendship and cooperation. He explained that the friendly relations between the two countries are based on a solid foundation, namely the personal and warm friendship between leader Kim Il-song and President Mubarak. Yi added that these relations will grow and develop further.

The DPRK vice president stated that he and Mubarak exchanged views in a frank and friendly atmosphere on all topics and added that there was a concurrence of views on all issues.

Yi was asked whether the Korean ship that might be intercepted by U.S. naval forces is carrying Scud missiles.

He replied: These reports have absolutely no truth whatsoever. Also, it is natural for our country's commercial ships to roam the world on economic and trade missions.

Yi added that reports such as these are false and are designed to harm normal commercial activity.

Libya

'Arab Element' Warns U.S. About 1986 'Mistake'

LD1203172292 Tripoli JANA in English 1422 GMT
12 Mar 92

[Text] Tripoli, al-Rabi' [March] 12 JAMAHARIYAH NEWS AGENCY—A particular Arab element has warned the United States of the folly of repeating the mistake she committed against the Great Jamahariyah's people with the aggression against it in 1986 on a baseless pretext whereby the ruling issued by the judicial parties confirmed that the Great Jamahariyah does not have any link, close or distant link with the incident of the explosion of the Berlin disco.

The magazine AL-HAWADITH in an article "Libya Is Innocent and Public Opinion Is Behind Her" commented that this had brought Washington's and London's attention to handing over one of the IRA's men to the British authorities after he had escaped from prison and went to New York for about a year. During this time the American Government did not deport him until the week before last.

The magazine spoke of how the Irishman was sentenced to prison and that there is a extradition treaty between the United States and Britain issued by the justice courts in both countries.

The magazine also spoke of how the Arab countries are now trying to find a solution which will be acceptable to all sides particularly after Libya's innocence was proved and that Arab and international support for the Great Jamahariyah in this issue had intensified.

People's Committee Denies Polisario Given Arms

LD1203181792 Tripoli JANA in English 1414 GMT
12 Mar 92

[Text] Tripoli, al-Rabi' [March] 12 JAMAHARIYAH NEWS AGENCY—A source at the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Co-operation declared that the information published in the London-based magazine "THE MIDDLE" saying that Libya had recently supplied the Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro] with a new consignment of arms had no foundation to it. The source said that this can be considered to be a type of cheap trampling on which is emanating from a hostile party which is fishing in murky waters to spread the poison of division among the Arab brothers and which is trying to blacken the Great Jamahariyah's name which confirms and has always

confirmed that she is aiming towards bolstering the Arab Maghreb Union and to achieve Arab unity.

Morocco

'Sources' Deny Army Shells Farsia, Violates Truce

LD1203124292 Rabat MAP in English 1214 GMT
12 Mar 92

[Text] El-Aaiun (Moroccan Sahara), March 12 (MAP)—Moroccan authorized sources here flatly denied that the royal [word indistinct] had sporadically shelled the Farsia region as reported by REUTER.

REUTER Tuesday circulated a Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia el-Hamra and Rio de Oro] release alleging that the royal army had sporadically shelled the Farsia region from 9 to 12 a.m.

The Moroccan authorized sources denied the allegations saying they are merely meant to mislead the international public opinion and confuse the issue at the moment the UN secretary general is attempting to implement the peace process through the organization of a self-rule referendum in the Sahara.

The same sources expressed amazement that REUTER, both in Paris and in Algiers, always falls in the trap set by the Polisario assertions and willingly circulates the Polisario's lies and serves as a disinformation means without taking the basic precaution to verify the news it receives from the Polisario.

Sudan

Report Claims Sabri al-Banna Residing in Khartoum

AB1103204892 Paris AFP in French 1843 GMT
10 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Doha, 10 Mar (AFP)—Palestinian terrorist Abu-Nidal [Sabri al-Banna] "is presently residing in Khartoum," in Sudan, after being expelled from Libya. This was reported today by the Qatari daily AL-RAYAH, citing Western diplomatic sources.

The newspaper, which did not state the date that Abu Nidal arrived in Sudan, noted that news of his presence came following reports by the press and the Sudanese opposition that Iranians have recently opened "bases and military training camps in Sudan to receive hundreds of extremist elements." The paper did not, however, establish any direct linkage between Abu Nidal's presence and the opening of these camps, which has been denied by Tehran. [passage omitted]

AL-RAYAH stated that "Western diplomats in Sudan have informed the Sudanese Government that their countries were determined to take measures against Khartoum if the latter did not give concrete proof that it has stopped giving any support to terrorism." [passage omitted]

'Aziz Answers Security Council Members

JN1203210892 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1954 GMT
12 Mar 92

[Text] New York, 12 Mar (INA)—Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz has affirmed that Iraq is a free country which is proud of its independence and that Iraq will not bargain over this independence. He added that both Britain and the British ambassador at the United Nations know this fact full well. This came in an impromptu speech at the third session of the Security Council which was held in New York today. 'Aziz added that Iraq is ready to cooperate with the United Nations, the UN Special Committee, and the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], to achieve the objectives of Resolution 687. However, he said, Iraq will not bargain over its independence, its people's freedom, and its 6,000-year-old civilization.

In his answer to questions posed by the president and members of the Security Council today, Tariq 'Aziz said that Iraq respects the international border and that there will be no problem in withdrawing the five police stations. Iraq, however, asked that the discussion of this issue be postponed until the problem of border demarcation is resolved. 'Aziz said that the UN secretary general has affirmed that the area has been quiet since last October.

Tariq 'Aziz noted that the Iraqi delegation is ready to enter into detailed technical meetings immediately with the UN Special Committee and the IAEA to draw the map of every Iraqi program within a definite period of time, after which a detailed report would be presented to the Security Council. 'Aziz added that the extremist interpretation of the provisions of Resolution 687 is not in line with the text and objectives of this resolution. Only the banned equipment should be destroyed. The Security Council is called on to meet Iraq's request to render the other equipment, which could be used for civilian purpose, harmless in order to be used in civilian activities.

Tariq 'Aziz added that Iraq reiterates the need to respect its sovereignty and national security and calls on the Security Council to guarantee these principles. He added that Iraq also asks the Security Council that the implementation of Resolution 687 not serve political and intelligence purposes.

On the so-called missing, Tariq 'Aziz said that on 20 February, Iraq asked the International Red Cross to let the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] assume full responsibility for this task and allow it to take whatever measures it deemed appropriate to confirm all the facts. Iraq started yesterday to publish the names of the missing.

Regarding reparations, he said it is necessary for such claims not to be false, vengeful, or designed for material gains.

He said that Iraq does not have a representative to watch the mechanism of initiating claims. This is against the provisions of international law, he noted.

Regarding Iraq's repayment of its foreign debts, Tariq 'Aziz said that Iraq respects its commitments toward its creditors. He noted, however, that Iraq cannot repay its debts plus the interest unless the blockade is lifted and Iraq resumes its oil exports and regains its natural economic condition.

He said that Iraq has informed the Russian Government that it respects its commitments toward the former Soviet Union. We have informed other countries of this, and told them that Iraq is ready to repay debts in crude oil, he said. At least one country has been in touch with the boycott committee, but the committee has not taken a position in this regard, he added.

On Resolutions 706 and 712, Tariq 'Aziz said that Iraq asked the UN Security Council and the boycott committee to allow it to export a quantity of oil to cover some of the Iraqi people's basic needs. He added: When Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan visited Iraq last summer, we discussed this issue with him. He told us that some council members were skeptical about Iraq's intentions and say that Iraq may exploit the money for purposes other than food and medicine.

'Aziz explained that three persons—an American, a Briton, and a Frenchman—accompanied Prince Sadruddin. Iraq explained to them that there was a scientific solution. According to that formula, Iraq was ready to sell oil to UN Security Council member states, which are buyers of Iraqi oil. This includes the United States, which used to buy 700,000 tonnes daily, as well as France, India, Russia, and Japan, which are members of the UN Security Council and which can verify the quantities of oil that they buy. We were also ready to buy food and medicine from them directly, as Iraq used to buy goods worth \$1-1.7 billion from the United States and to buy medicines and medical materials from Britain and France, which are members of the Security Council and can verify whether we buy food and medicine or weapons. However, regrettably these ideas have turned into Resolution 706, which is a resolution with political dimensions. Iraq does not accept the issue of food and medicine being turned into a political game to achieve political ends.

Iraq is prepared to enter into serious and systematic talks with the UN secretariat to export oil in sufficient quantities to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people.

Iraq, he added, is prepared to pursue the talks previously held in Vienna, but without any preconditions, to promote an agreement on an export mechanism to ship an appropriate amount of oil, as well as the right mechanism to guarantee clarity [al-shafafiyah] in the the selling and buying process.

He explained in the following text:

(I hope the UN Security council will not renew Resolution 706, since it is not practical to have the issue resolved by a council resolution).

As for Resolution 688, Tariq 'Aziz said: Certain members have talked about what is called the Kurdish and Shiite issues and the alleged blockade of the northern governorates. We regarded and we still regard that resolution an interference in the internal affairs of Iraq. And yet, Iraq has cooperated with the UN secretary general and his envoy Sadruddin Aga Khan and his representatives, as well as with those who came after him.

He added: There are allegations about a blockade being imposed on three northern governorates. The truth of the matter is the following:

Last April, we began a dialogue with the leadership of the Kurdistan Front, which went on until last August. The dialogue was joined by Kurdish party leaders including Mas'ud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, among other leaders. We arrived at a new advanced formula for autonomy and a resolution to all pending problems. After August, the front's leadership asked that it return to Kurdistan to study the results. There, they were asked to send a delegation to a number of the capitals, and a delegation led by Talabani traveled to Washington. Afterward, the front's leadership informed us that it was not prepared to sign the agreements, and then numerous security problems arose.

Withdrawal of the government administration made it not possible for the government to directly pay the salaries of employees in Irbil. But Irbil employees can get their salaries at any city which has a government administration. This also goes for food rations, because the government cannot distribute them in the areas where an administration—such as governors, Trade Ministry representatives, police, and other government agencies—does not exist.

Food rations are usually handed over to agents from the area, and we have no idea how they are distributed, he said. The area is controlled by Kurdish parties, and they are responsible for the distribution. The government does not know if the rations are being distributed or stolen.

Yes, there are checkpoints, and this is a precautionary measure. A U.S. senator has roared and said that Iraq is exporting equipment to Iran, and that this is a violation of the embargo. The truth is that these important pieces of equipment have been stolen and transferred to be smuggled and sold in Iran. The cars, cranes, and tractors are materials which the government cannot compensate for under the circumstances of the comprehensive blockade. Therefore, the checkpoints are there to investigate the transfer of stolen and smuggled equipment, and these are precautionary measures to protect the property of the Iraqi people.

Foreign aircraft fly over the northern cities, including Mosul, at low altitudes in a provocative way on Fridays and during prayer time, thereby terrifying people. As a result of this, many miscarriages occurred. These planes

did not operate in accordance with the Security Council resolution; the aircraft of only three countries conduct these operations.

Some spoke about the so-called problem of Shiites and their coercion. I would like here to say to you and to history a fact which is known by every Iraqi, Arab, and Muslim, that in Islamic history there were no sectarian wars like the wars that were waged in Europe between the Catholics and Protestants. Every historian and scholar knows this. There are schools and creeds, but there were no sectarian conflicts throughout Arab and Islamic history. He says: Iraq is 6,000 years old, and there is a population, religious, and cultural diversity—there are Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, Shiite and Sunni Muslims, and Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christians. Iraq is a society with a variety of factions, ethnic groups, and religions. However, this society has never entered into sectarian wars and no political differences ever took place between Sunnis and Shiites or between Muslims and Christians. Whoever says anything that is contrary to this is slandering Iraq. Look at this delegation which was elected in light of its members' responsibilities; it is a delegation that represents the Government of Iraq. The delegation is chaired by the deputy prime minister who is a Catholic; and the delegation is made up of Shiite, Sunni, and Kurdish ministers, ambassadors, experts, and specialists.

'Aziz said: As for the marshlands, they are swamps bordering a neighboring country, covered by jungles of bamboo that can be a hiding place for outlaws. Regrettably, Iran continues to play the game of interfering in Iraq's internal affairs. Do not the authorities have the right to prevent the infiltration of saboteurs from a neighboring country to destabilize Iraq and undermine its security?

On the UN Security Council's bimonthly meeting to study the boycott, Tariq 'Aziz said: We have a legitimate request: We ask the council to allow us to come every two months to explain our position to it and to respond to your remarks.

Responding to a question posed by the U.S. ambassador yesterday on opening relief centers in Karkuk and Mosul, Tariq 'Aziz said: The memorandum of understanding between Iraq and the United Nations stipulates that the opening of centers takes place with the consent of the Iraqi Government and through cooperation with it. For your information, there is a center in Mosul, contrary to what has been noted in the question by the U.S. envoy. On another question on the residents of Karkuk, Tariq 'Aziz said that it is a question taken from tendentious press reports, explaining that there is no measure in Iraq that prevents a citizen from returning to his place of residence, be it in Karkuk, Baghdad, al-Basrah, or Mosul. This applies to the Sunni and Shiite, Kurdish and Arab citizens, in order to curb emigration to cities.

Responding to a question posed by the British ambassador yesterday in which he ridiculed Mr. Ahtisaari's report, Tariq 'Aziz said: Ahtisaari visited Iraq as a UN envoy at a time when there were no civilian industrial programs in action. There was no electricity, no automobile fuel. Water stations and bridges were hit, even in remote villages. Ahtisaari was not an Iraqi nor a member of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party. However, he was an honest man.

Concluding his address, 'Aziz said: Iraq has offered principled, legitimate, logical, and practical proposals, and we hope that the council will take them into consideration. The delegation in New York is ready to continue contacts with the UN Security Council, the Special Committee, and the IAEA to reach a just and fair solution. We want to separate charges, doubts, and political ends from the pertinent objective facts in order to implement Resolution 687. This is the mission of the delegation in New York. We have communicated this to the council president, the secretary general, and the press. We will continue to act on this basis. Thank you.

Afterward, the session was adjourned. The council members held consultations among themselves on the content of a statement to be discussed at another session that will be held later.

Initial Summary of Saddam's Audience With Kurds

JN1203193792 Baghdad INA in English 1305 GMT
12 Mar 92

[Text] Baghdad, Mar. 12, INA—President Saddam Husayn has asserted the unity of the people of Iraq, saying that Iraqi Kurds have been and will remain part of the Iraqi people.

The president's comments came during an audience on Wednesday with members of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Kurdish Autonomy Region.

The audience was given in commemoration of the 18th anniversary of enforcing the autonomy law of Kurdistan region. The law was enforced four years after the 1970 declaration which granted Iraqi Kurds autonomy within the framework of Iraq.

During the audience, President Husayn listened to comments by the two council members on the present situation in the northern Kurdish region.

The Iraqis are one unified people whether in the north, centre or the south of the country, he said. Throughout thousands of years, the people of Iraq has been encompassing diverse nationalities, religions and sects, and the Iraqis have remained one nation. The population of Iraq have not been artificially made into one people, but this people is the same one and ancient people living together for more than 6,000 years now, he said, adding that the Iraqis have introduced to mankind the first civilization.

The president called on the attendants to give objective analysis of the present situation in the Kurdish area.

Adding that the government was committed to rendering services to the region. "We love our people", he said, adding that all government officials are civil servants who must serve the people honestly. "Every one of us is the servant of the people... Saddam Husayn is a servant of the people", he said.

The president said it is true that state organs in the north have made mistakes. "I do not say mistakes were not committed. But surely, the central government did not want such mistakes to be committed", he said in reference to the situation before the aggression and the ensuing terrorist acts in the north in 1991. He added that, however, whenever such mistakes were reported properly, those responsible among government organs used to be brought to check.

He said that the mismanagement of the administration in Kurdistan was related to the instability of the situation in the region. Government officials cannot obtain management experience without being in their posts for sufficient and uninterrupted period of time. Justice cannot be achieved under instability in the Kurdish area, he said, adding that the government will alter and develop the autonomy law in force as it would cope with any upcoming new conditions.

"The overwhelming majority of those who call themselves opposition are no more than saboteurs," President Husayn said, asserting that they are collaborating with the foreigners against their own country. When the foreigner becomes the master, the language between the local population and the foreigner is one between the slave and the master, he said.

The president said those who call themselves opposition have done nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Kurdish population. Compared to the present situation in the northern province of al- Sulaymaniyah, for instance, the government organs at the time did far better in offering services to the population of the province regardless of some mistakes now and then, he said.

President Husayn urged the Kurds not to allow outlaws to play havoc in the area, saying that, in this, they have to offer some self-sacrifice which is price for freedom.

The president said that more than a year after the U.S.-led aggression against Iraq, the country and the Army are now strong and far capable of crushing terrorists. He added that the Iraqi Army will not enter any town or city if the population desert it, because this means the government will lose its own people.

He noted that those in control of the Kurdish area now have in mind that the government has not given up the region. The present state of terror would have been much worse if those people are sure the government has given up the area.

President Husayn said that Iraqi Kurdistan is now being used as a means to deplete Iraq's foodstuff and essential

goods. He was referring to the rationed foodstuff and essential commodities the central government sends to the region, from where they are either smuggled into neighbouring countries or sold in the black market by top terrorists in control there.

The president said nobody can be sure that foodstuff and aid sent by the government would be properly distributed among the area's population. He urged the councils' members to probe means that would ensure that food would reach the region's population and not smuggled abroad. The president noted that Iran in particular was playing a very hostile role in this respect, saying that Iranians buy even broken glass from the area.

Lashing out at the foreign imperialist presence in northern Iraq, the president said imperialism is only after its own interests, adding that the foreigners could not have stayed in the north had not they felt safe there. He added that while the foreigners come to Iraq as workers serving the Iraqi people and appreciating the salaries they receive from their Iraqi masters, they are now in the north as masters. "This should not be accepted", he said.

The president warned that the situation in Kurdistan may well turn into another Lebanon, and the region may well suffer from protracted in-fighting and heavy casualties similar to those of Lebanon. He called on Kurdish religious leaders, youth and tribal chiefs to mend the current abnormal conditions in Kurdistan, adding that the government is not far away if they did this.

The president said that regardless of the limited chances it had, the government has offered the Iraqi people significant achievements. He asserted that the government will surmount present difficulties and continue to serve the people.

He said difference in viewpoints among various parties and groups is normal and does not constitute a risk, adding that such differences is a common thing among one family members. "However, one cannot be free when foreigners are in the area", he said, referring to the situation in northern Iraq. Differences within the one nation can be solved in the area is cleared of all foreigners, he added.

President Husayn said that the government would certainly benefit from the lessons drawn out of the present situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. "We are determined to benefit from any lesson we may run into", he said, adding that the lessons the Iraqis have learnt are as large in size as the difficulties they have confronted.

Al-Majid Visits Units, Denies Siege of Kurds

JN1203070792 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] General 'Ali Hasan al-Majid, Revolution Command Council (RCC) member and defense minister, inspected the operations sector of the 1st Army Corps

over the past three days. He met with the commander of the corps, with staff officers, and with commanders of the divisions, formations, and service units. The comrade secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party's al-Rashid military branch attended the meetings.

The defense minister discussed with the officers issues related to training and upgrading of performance, and the necessary measures to surmount relevant obstacles. The defense minister told the commanders: National duty and military integrity dictate that we all work to put an end to those who want to harm our towering Iraq under the leadership of President Saddam Husayn, may God preserve him.

The RCC member and defense minister denied claims by Kurdish parties that the autonomous region is experiencing an economic siege imposed by the government. He said: They are disregarding the fact that they are part of the people of Iraq—Arabs, Kurds, and all other ethnic groups. We all have been living under an unjust blockade for more than 19 months, a blockade imposed by the United States and its wicked allies against our peaceful people.

He said: There is a fact known by everybody—namely, that the food rations allotted by the Trade Ministry for the citizens in the autonomous region are not essentially small. However, he added, some of the Kurdish parties within the [Kurdistan] Front, as well as some other parties, receive this food and sell it to citizens at extremely high prices, claiming that the government is besieging the people of Iraq's Kurdistan. These claims are then repeated by the Americans, the French, and the British through their hostile media trumpets.

The commanders of the 1st Army Corps and divisions, as well as the officers of the formations and units, pledged to the leader president, Field Marshal Saddam Husayn, to be at his disposal to defend great Iraq, now that the Iraqi Army is able and ready to perform any duty assigned to it.

Offensive in North, Clashes in South Reported

LD1203180592 Tehran IRNA in English 1601 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Mahabad (West Azarbaijan), March 12, IRNA—A large number of people were killed or injured in the town of Tuz, Karkuk Province, by the Iraqi Armed Forces which have gone on the offensive in northern Iraq. Iraq's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in its radio broadcast today confirmed the Ba'athist army's attack on the town populated mainly by Turkic speaking Iraqi citizens. It said the Ba'athist regime burned to death 20 people in Tuz on charges of collaboration with Kurdish peshmergas. The radio quoted a commander of allied forces stationed in Turkey as having said that the Western forces would react if the Iraqi Army repeated its operations in northern Iraq. The unnamed commander said that allied reconnaissance aircraft have extended their flights to northern Iraq, said the report. It quoted

an American official as saying that U.S. and British forces would attack Iraq if the Baghdad regime did not lift its economic sanctions against northern Iraq.

[Tehran IRIB Television Second Program Network in English at 1615 GMT on 12 March adds in a similar report: "Incoming dispatches from Iraq say that the regions in southern Iraq have been the scenes of heavy clashes between Muslims and Ba'ath military men. The Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq [SAIRI] quoted its news sources as saying that a large number of Iraqi Muslims, mostly women and children who have taken refuge in the country's southern swamps, have been killed or wounded in the course of the Baghdad regime's military forces' attacks. During the clashes, hundreds of the Iraqi regime's forces have also been killed, and a large amount of their weapons have been destroyed. Meanwhile, the latest reports reveal that Muslims living in southern Iraq are still under the siege of the Baghdad regime, and the country's army is dispatching new units to the region. The SAIRI speaker had earlier warned that, according to the existing documents, Iraq's regime is preparing a massive assault against the southern regions."]

Artillery Attack on Kurdish Positions

LD1203115692 Tehran IRNA in English 1040 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Sanandaj, Kurdistan Prov., March 12, IRNA—The Iraqi forces Wednesday opened heavy artillery fire on positions and headquarters of the Iraqi Kurdish peshmergas in "Tuz Khurmatu" region, northern Iraq, for several hours, it was announced here Thursday.

According to the radio of the Iraqi Kurdistan Front, monitored in this western city, the shelling came after the recent reports that Baghdad Government was planning a massive offensive on the Kurdish-populated areas of northern Iraq.

The radio quoted Kurdish opposition leaders as saying that a large scale attack of the Iraqi Army on northern Iraq is imminent and that the Kurdish peshmergas have been instructed to repel the attack of the government forces.

Helicopters, Tanks Used in North

NC1203144992 (Clandestine) Voice of the Iraqi People in Arabic 1400 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Fierce clashes are raging between the forces of the defeated regime and armed Kurds in northern Iraq. Humanitarian organizations operating in the north have said that these clashes, in which the defeated regime is using helicopters and tanks, are raging in Chamchamal and (Shuwanah).

Kurdish sources have reported casualties, noting that a number of the defeated regime's troops were taken prisoner and that a number of tanks were destroyed. The

sources noted that elements of the tyrant's 7th Division are participating in the military operations.

The same sources have reported that the tyrant's troops yesterday deliberately burned six cars driven by Kurds at a checkpoint south of Karkuk. A woman and five men were burned to death as a result.

More on Defense Minister Executing 10 Officers

NC1103171492 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Kurdistan in Arabic 1600 GMT 11 Mar 92

[Text] According to an urgent report from our correspondent in Karkuk, Iraqi War Minister 'Ali Hasan al-Majid arrived at Qarah Anjir at 1000 this morning closely guarded by a number of helicopters and dozens of Mercedes limousines. Traffic along the Karkuk-Chamchamal road was halted for three hours.

Citing a private source, our correspondent reports that immediately upon his arrival the Iraqi war minister executed 10 officers from the 60th Brigade, which was defeated the day before yesterday in a battle with Kurdistan Front forces along several fronts in the Shuwanah region.

Another report spoke of preparations for a new government offensive. We will provide more information as soon as it is available.

Writer Urges Continuation of Talks With Kurds

JN2802145492 Baghdad BABIL in Arabic 20 Feb 92 pp 1, 7

[Article by Sabah Salman: "So That the Language of Arms Would Not Substitute for the Logic of Politics"]

[Excerpts] Everything that has to do with the Kurdish question is among the important issues that require wisdom, patience, and perseverance by all parties concerned so as to draw up the correct plans to spare the homeland any disasters or agony and establish the foundations of its solid unity.

The starting point in this correct direction is to stow away the opposing guns and not to allow, under whatever circumstances, triggers to be pulled. [passage omitted]

All those concerned with the current situation in Kurdistan have one choice—namely dialogue, because any other choice will only be that of armed force or will lead to it. The truth is that the national interest favors the idea of dialogue, not the idea of using armed force, provided that there is good faith and an intention to overcome obstacles and difficulties. [passage omitted]

Regardless of the length of the dialogue, no one has anything to lose, while in a confrontation, everybody loses. Dialogue, however, must not be a means to gain time so as to overcome a transient crisis or peddle a deal, because in this way it is no longer a dialogue but rather only a cheap maneuver. [passage omitted]

The interest of the homeland is to be supreme to any other consideration. We openly say, therefore, that the first bullet which opens the floodgates to the river of blood is a bullet of death and destruction. Iraqis, both Arabs and Kurds, have much to lose if this happens. Therefore, fear for Iraqi blood is the right approach and the path of successful steps.

This fact makes us assert that the dialogue that has begun between the government delegation and the parties of the Kurdistan Front, despite all that is said about it, is useful. Keeping channels open gives a glimmer of hope and bodes well, and both are better than the absence of hope and the prevalence of evil portents.

This is because every meeting between the government delegation and the Kurdistan Front parties emphasizes that the vision of wisdom and the patience of mind are still in control, away from clashes and fighting. This is a great achievement that needs to be developed into a rule categorically forbidding fighting among brothers.

It has been a long time since the first meeting between the government and the Kurdistan Front parties. During that period signs which cause concern have outnumbered signs of assurance, because we live in a time in which the logic of politics recoils before the language of arms. The danger of this lies in the fact that when the voice of arms grows louder it will not mean merely the sound of bullets in the air.

Therefore, we bless every meeting that carries with it a hope of dialogue and understanding, for a breach would mean an end to dialogue and the beginning of the duel. This is because the end of the dialogue is, whether we like it or not, the calm that precedes the storm. [passage omitted]

What we need is not muscle flexing but open minds, not force but capability. The difference between the two is that the latter is a power, the wings of which are reason and justice.

Writer Warns About Situation in North, South

JN0903175792 Baghdad BABIL in Arabic
7 Mar 92 p 1

[Article signed by "Abu-Hatim": "To Be Conscious and Aware of...!!"]

[Text] What I will deal with in this article is a sort of meditation through a series of my thoughts that may be correct or incorrect. I might be blamed for these thoughts by some brothers who are the sons of the one family, but the Koranic verse which says: "And cover not truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth when ye know" justifies my position on this subject.

I have never given any thought to an important subject spoken about by many philosophers in their books and tackled by intellectuals, namely the oneness of God and His existence, or to the question: Does God exist? The

one who knows life well daily discovers that without the great power and a driving force that has great capabilities, this universe would have gone on courses that we do not know, and even more, the human being himself would not have reached the level that he has reached: wisdom derived from experience that was placed by God Almighty in basic laws that have been included in the character of man and the instructions represented in the divine books, prophets, and messengers.

This is not our main subject, but how much of these laws and of his experiences can man grasp so as to be balanced with himself and with others? In psychology there is something that psychologists call psychological shock. A simple example of this is a man who does not know how to swim and who is about to drown when he is suddenly rescued by someone. This man develops psychological shock and will start avoiding water and resorting to all means to avoid it.

This condition affects the man who does not control his character and the thoughts within his mind and his actions which are the result of his behavior in life. But when a conscious and sane man experiences such an incident, he will not suffer shock but will rather learn a specific lesson from it, such as beginning to learn how to swim so as to avoid drowning. He does not avoid water but rather thinks of making a boat or a life preserver to use if a similar incident were to occur.

Were the enemies' conspiracies represented in the 30-state aggression against Iraq, or were they the beginning of something else? This is a difficult subject to deal with. The difficulty lies in the way of grasping the lesson. During his growth the child receives simple lessons and then his experience and the lessons learned from them deepen with the passage of days and years. If we take a wider view and take the experience of the party, we notice that soon after it assumed power it was in 1970 exposed to a conspiracy from Iran. As is known, this conspiracy failed. Then came the conspiracy of 1979, and between the two there were attempts to destabilize northern Iraq. Later the Iranian war of aggression broke out. In our view, it was a great conspiracy that targeted the whole of Iraq. After the war ended with Iraq's victory, the technology battle began, accompanied by the efforts to prevent Iraq from using technology to build its scientific future. We believed that this was the biggest conspiracy against Iraq. Later the aggression was launched and we thought that there was nothing bigger than the aggression by 33 states. Then came the chapter of treachery which targeted the infrastructure in light of an all-out siege that included food, medicines, culture, and other things.

Thus we feel that the conspiracy and plotting against Iraq are continuing and are daily growing bigger in various forms, some of which we know and others which we do not. The main thing is: Have we learned or not, and how much have we grasped if we have learned?

Whether we like it or not, it seems that God Almighty has assigned this part of the nation, I mean Iraq, the task of shouldering the pan-Arab responsibility. As many writers have said, and as we have said on many occasions, the people of Iraq shoulder the responsibility of defending the nation's interests and restoring its pride and history. Based on this, God Almighty has bestowed upon this people a leader like Saddam Husayn. The effects and reflections of his pioneering role have become clear and real to the entire Arab people. The best evidence of this is that despite all the ideological differences between Iraq and Syria, whoever visits the village of Abu Kamal or other areas such as Damascus understands from the shop owner or taxi driver the influence Saddam that Husayn has. Moreover, whoever visits the Arab Maghreb countries clearly realizes the extent of leader Saddam Husayn's influence in the Arab arena.

Hence, the enemies have won the action, but we have won the reaction. Reaction follows action. The arena before us is broader, and we can move better. We have experienced their action, and thus we can reorganize our ranks in a more programmed manner.

Whatever we note now, we will need to not be surprised and overtaken by events as was the case in the chapters of treason and treachery.

At the beginning of this article we said that some of these issues could be correct and others could be incorrect. The important thing, however, is that bringing them to mind and revealing them to the public helps in noting them and drawing the attention of others to the possibility of being more flexible in dealing with them in order to reach more positive solutions, and consequently reaching the desired outcome.

If we want to say that Kurdistan has a special status, then it is so. Kurdistan has been known to the Iraqis for a long time. Whenever disturbances occur in that area, they must eventually calm down. Neither we nor other nationalists in Iraq should be held accountable or judged for what is taking place there now. With regard to the south, to us it is like a human body with the belt as its upper border. If one wants to say that the middle represents the torso from the belt up, then the south represents the legs on which the body stands. Hence, based on logical and objective views and thinking, we must be aware of what the chapter of treason and treachery has produced. In ancient history, when there was a strong fortress that had to be forced, the planners resorted to the Trojan horse. What means will the conspirators now use as they seek through their traditional calculations to penetrate the body of Iraq? In reality, there are two Trojan horses: one in the north, which is known to the people, and the other in the south, as represented by a group of military service deserters and a group of people with ideas related to anti-Arabism and foreign circles, stationed in the marshlands. These two groups are time bombs that could go off at any moment if the foreigner approaches them with the fire of his conspiracy. It seems that the forces hostile to Iraq

have kept this issue in mind in order to use it as a detonator at any moment, or as a cover or a means to get to the forces that restore and rebuild Iraq. For instance, a Western official said on 2 March that UN envoys must be sent to Kurdistan and to the south, particularly the marshlands.

Our path is clear not only to us and to our people but also to our enemies. We are a group of revolutionaries brought together by our action and march in our party in which we found the genuine path to achieve our aspirations and objectives. Through this party, we assumed power, not to sit on comfortable seats but rather to express our principles. It is because our principles were far from anti-Arabism and sectarianism and from forming alliances with the foreigner that we have faced all that we have faced over these years. This is a path from which we will not deviate, however. We will either proceed along it to the end or die. This is God's will, the essence of which no one knows.

We cannot agree with the enemies who want to destroy Iraq, including its industrial installations which they term military industry. This means that we will remain in disagreement with them. The source of our power will always be our principles. If principles are mere letters written on walls and papers and in books, finding no one to embrace them, express them, and make sacrifices for them, then they will become like Plato's *The Republic*.

What we have said and argued in this article leads us to the following conclusion: The state has benefited more from the past events than its popular organizations. Such organizations should have been the greatest beneficiary. Thus, we find that the Interior Ministry's structures, not to say that they have attained an ideal level, have begun to realize the importance of reorienting and reshaping their institutions. This also applies to other ministries and institutions. Many of our friends and brothers who live in the southern region say that many faces that had been rejected by the southern communities, especially within their internal social structures, have begun to reappear, albeit in fewer numbers. Such faces might reappear in an organization, a police station, or a security department. This has made many people develop a sensitivity toward the state, and this sensitivity has been exploited for political ends. That is why what happened, happened.

In one of his famous sayings, Shakespeare says that life is a big stage on which each of us has a certain part to play. As soon as the curtain goes down, another life begins. On the stage, characters appear consecutively each with his or her part. The overall consecutive parts constitute the whole play. These faces disappear at certain stages of the play. Therefore, we should keep this example in mind because the reappearance of the actors on the stage, even in different clothes, means that the acts of the play will continue to proceed in the same direction as the first acts, and perhaps will be a copy of them. When this is the

case, it would be difficult to predict the conclusion of the play through the playwright's style or the dramatic developments of the play.

Therefore, we certainly need to grasp the example first, and then to learn lessons from it. We need to be firm with all the institutions taking part in the leadership of our people. In His book, God Almighty gives the example of an ant. But was the example of the ant meant to narrate something to the Muslim, or to emphasize a historic fact? The answer is that, first, God Almighty wanted to emphasize a fact, and, second, to give lessons to people. In one of the verses of the holy Koran, the ant, addressing its mates, says: "One of the ants said: O ye ants, get into your habitations, lest Solomon and his hosts crush you underfoot." When two lions or two flocks of large deer engage in fighting, they crush underfoot a great deal of grass and a large number of ants. What we want to say is that we do not consider ourselves different from our people. In fact, we believe that we are part of our people. When we are in the position of decisionmaking and authority, however, we must realize and understand a basic fact: that when we and other leaders in the state and the party commit a mistake, this would eventually affect the base. Who knows what losses the base would suffer, losses which may amount to souls. Our words should be accurate and our decisions should be sound and free of extremism. We should honor our words and decisions and allow no space for forgetfulness. We are required to implement all that is written on paper and to register it so that every one of us be accountable before God, the homeland, and the leader for what happens in his area. As officials, we all must realize that if an opportunity is given to the enemies in a certain area, the repercussions of that on our people in that area will be tragic and the consequences horrendous.

Some might claim that they are providing all the required positive atmosphere and all that would be in the interest of our people in a certain area. They also might claim that they know all the leadership structures and all that happens in that area. In that case, when the enemies manage to control that area, when a penetration or confusion occur, or when the enemies manage to exploit an opportunity, officials in that sector must pay a very heavy price and should be subject to severe punishment for the penetration, confusion, and the loss of any number of people, even a handful, to the enemies. It must not be said that what happened was based on good intentions or because of a slow understanding of the event or due to a certain coincidence.

We are not comparing ourselves to the Soviet Union, whose leading thought has led it to a confrontation with three basic issues. The first confrontation was between this thought and God Almighty and the denial of His existence. The second confrontation was with man's personal freedom and the freedom of expression and faith. The third confrontation was with personal interests and private ownership. We know that any one of these issues is enough to change any regime in the world. What then would be the outcome when these three issues

are brought together? We know the outcome. It is not a change in a small regime or state; an entire empire has collapsed.

We should always be cautious and watchful of whoever tries to ride the bandwagon to obtain a seat of responsibility when his interest in the seat is greater than his interest in people's good. We must always be alert to the possibility of flabbiness in our formations. By flabbiness I mean that if the body becomes fat, it becomes easy to exhaust, and when it shapes up, it is possible for it to gain weight again. Moreover, we should give everyone a chance in hard circumstances so that others would realize that their rights will not be wasted. Finally, a basic fact that we must understand is that our enemies will continue to wait for chances, no matter how insignificant they might be, and that they will continue their plotting.

BABIL: Bush Suffering 'Temporary Insanity'

JN2902172692 Baghdad BABIL in Arabic
24 Feb 92 pp 1, 7

[Article by Salah al-Mukhtar: "The Sword of Time Is Cutting Bush's Throat"]

[Text] Some people are asking: Why is George Bush escalating his campaign against Iraq now? This question is not only raised in Iraq, for we also see it clearly in the discussions and articles of Western politicians and media persons. This question is very important because it helps to explain a "strange" phenomenon that has characterized Bush's behavior since August 1990—namely his nervousness, short temper, and his irrational way of dealing with Iraq.

Whoever observes Bush's behavior in general finds that Bush smiles often and acts naturally, calmly, logically, broad minded, and rationally. But all these traits, which should characterize any U.S. president, disappear when either Iraq or its leader Saddam Husayn is mentioned. Bush then turns into someone who suffers from "temporary insanity," the term used by psychologists to characterize stable people who commit ugly crimes.

Temporary insanity is a medical phenomenon that surfaces in very difficult and extremely trying circumstances, thus robbing one of his balance. But, it occurs very rarely. Besides, it is only used to explain individual and small crimes, such as homicide or the perpetration of an act whose impact is limited in scope. Consequently, it is totally unacceptable and impermissible to advance the excuse of temporary insanity to explain a president's conduct. How then would the situation be when the president in question is the U.S. President, who has control over the nuclear button, which if pressed could decimate life on earth twenty times over?

Since August 1990 Bush has shown himself to be "concerned," "emotional," "hasty," "stubborn," "rancorous," "irrational in his reactions to Iraq and also in the standards that he employs when dealing with Iraq."

"hostile even toward his allies," "incapable of curbing his propensity for sanctioning genocide," and "a very selfish person" who is willing to sacrifice everything just to remain in power. This is the opinion of all observers.

Since August 1990 these traits and others have clearly manifested themselves in the conduct of the president of the "most powerful state in the world" even though this should never be the case, not only because this inflicts grave harm and immense damage on others, but also because it threatens all of mankind, including the United States, with destruction.

Any manifestation of unbalanced conduct on the part of the head of state of a superpower could create serious crises that might cost mankind thousands or even millions of lives. That is why the European public, parliaments, and media have been watching the conduct of European decisionmakers to ensure that their decisions emanate from sound minds not affected by strong pressures which could cause "temporary insanity."

This obsession has continued and grown even stronger in the aftermath of the invention of weapons of mass destruction. People have become concerned with identifying the means of ensuring that the person who has the right to press nuclear buttons will act in line with common sense, and that he will not become a victim of temporary insanity.

Even in the United States itself complex mechanisms involving numerous agencies were set up to minimize the risks of a president or senior military commanders becoming afflicted with temporary insanity. Besides, the Congress is empowered to dismiss the president and have him tried under many circumstances, including one in which he becomes temporarily insane.

Despite the insistence of his psychiatric counselors and strategists that he should control his temper, Bush right now seems very close to a condition of "temporary insanity" whenever he thinks about Iraq and its leader. Thus, Iraq and leader President Saddam Husayn have become the great challenge to Bush and his allies. The main reason for this is that the scenario prepared for the anti-Iraq aggression was not carried out as planned, for Iraq has shown through its steadfastness and the genius and courage of its leader that it is capable of thwarting the long-term strategic objectives of the U.S. scheme.

Advisers and experts convinced Bush that the anti-Iraq aggression scenario must include several chapters of human rights violations, and violations of international law and human norms and traditions as well, because without these the aggression would not be able to achieve its objectives. Likewise, Bush was convinced that these flagrant violations, once perpetrated, would be kept from the public eye by keeping the media at bay, imposing a complete news blackout on the war, and propagating reports telling people that the "war was a clean one."

It follows from this that two ideas have been planted into Bush's mind: The first is that he was heading toward a

barbaric, illegitimate, and immoral act; and the second is that this act would be buried and laid to rest, and that nobody would be aware of it once defeat was inflicted on Iraq.

What happened was something entirely different, however. This is because the aggression, despite its savagery and the superior lethal weapons utilized, has failed thanks to the will for survival, independence, and sacrifice embedded within the Iraqi people, as well as the political and leadership genius of President Saddam Husayn. This has caused the impact of the grand crime, and the witnesses to the crime as well, to remain there before the eyes of the international public, which has begun to recover from the blurred vision syndrome that plagued it, and also from the domination of the media.

As a result of this Bush has found himself compelled to tackle the two aforementioned ideas. The brutal and inhuman act that he perpetrated is still vivid in people's minds. Besides, this act has manifested itself to the world, including the American public, and has elicited its recognition and condemnation. Furthermore, the idea of getting rid of the Iraqi leadership and installing a substitute agent leadership to cover up the grand crime, has not materialized. Indeed, the Iraqi leadership has been waging the battle of exposing to the international public the nature and types of the crimes committed by Bush. Therefore, it has become impossible to push the witnesses into oblivion and conceal the manifestations which prove that Bush is a war criminal and an enemy of mankind, an epithet used by Europeans and Americans to characterize German leaders at the end of World War II at the Nuremberg trials.

With each passing day Bush is increasingly threatened with more of his crimes being exposed. This means that he is becoming increasingly weak and isolated. Besides, this will cause him to lose the election. Also, there are people, even in the United States, who are preparing to bring Bush up on charges of genocide and war crimes. Because Iraq has remained strong, because the situation in Iraq has stabilized, and because Iraq has managed to resolve or ease many of the hurdles created by the blockade, we have seen Bush moving closer to the condition of "temporary insanity."

Kurds Seize Intelligence 'Hirelings' in Karkuk

*NC1103155892 (Clandestine) Voice of Rebellious
Iraq in Arabic 1416 GMT 11 Mar 92*

[Text] Scared of falling into our people's hands, the cowardly 'Aflaqists are trying to carry out their conspiracies under various guises. Our Kurdish peshmerga revolutionaries, suspicious about the identity of its five passengers, recently stopped a civilian Skoda coming from Karkuk Governorate. The car fell into the hands of a fighting group north of Karkuk belonging to our Kurdish people. As they checked the identity of the [words indistinct] light weapons and pistols which were concealed inside it.

Investigations into the passengers' identities revealed them to be hirelings employed by the Saddamist intelligence service to carry out plots against the people in the north of our homeland. The members of this criminal gang were handed over to the Kurdish peshmerga.

Kurdish Radio Appeals for Hunger, Cold Relief

NC2802182792 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Kurdistan in Arabic 1612 GMT 27 Feb 92

["Urgent Appeal for Help Addressed to the World's Conscience by the People of Iraqi Kurdistan"]

[Text] The world finally has begun to talk about the destructive state of siege in Iraqi Kurdistan. The representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees has submitted an urgent report to the international organization in which he stated that the Iraqi Government's siege of Kurdistan is tantamount to a real war, a war of starvation.

International news agencies and radio stations have reported this state of siege and consider it something horrible. It is a silent and calm process of mass annihilation.

We welcome the world's concern for our starvation and sufferings from the cold weather and poverty. We view the world's concern with satisfaction and gratitude, but hunger and cold have no mercy and snow and floods do not realize what effect they have. Only yesterday landslides and floods swept away 30 villages in Kurdistan, burying people and hurriedly built houses and isolating these villages from the world to the extent that nobody knows anything about their inhabitants.

We are grateful for the world's conscience, but hunger is hurting us, the cold weather is freezing our children, and our millions of poor cannot find money or food. The Kurdish villagers are resorting to caves and open shelters. Because of the cold weather, the tears of our women freeze even before they leave their sad eyes. But are there any more tears left in our women's eyes? After 30 years do our women have tears left to shed? The cold is freezing the children of Kurdistan. May God freeze Saddam Husayn's limbs.

The needy people are cutting down thousands upon thousands of trees to provide heat for the babies and women who are shivering from the cold. May God cut to shreds the tree of the Ba'thists, those users of chemical weapons, and throw it into the furnace of justice.

We are not playing on sentiment. Whoever wishes to can come to Iraqi Kurdistan to see with his own eyes what is happening here. It is a silent and calm war of mass annihilation following a series of destructive wars involving chemical gases, collective executions, the rapes of women and girls, and the displacement of people from their villages, cities, and hamlets.

O benevolent people of the world, the United Nations, the UN Security Council, and relief organizations: Five

million people are in imminent danger. God is placing the 5 million people in Iraqi Kurdistan on your consciences. We believe that your consciences will respond quickly to this resounding human appeal.

Urges Lifting Blockade on Kurdistan

JN2902071192 (Clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan in Arabic 1815 GMT 28 Feb 92

[Station commentary: "Bread Is Necessary, But It Is Only Delicious With Freedom and Stability"]

[Text] In being interviewed by one of our radio programs, a teacher who lives with her children in the city of Kifri and whose house is 800 meters from the remotest machine gun aimed at her city, has said that she is happy with her life because for the first time she is living in tranquillity and freedom. She added that she would not give up this life for a big meal mixed with fear, concern, and daily humiliation. She added that she only wants the Kurdistan Front to entrench this stability and tranquillity.

Indeed, we should dwell on these words which raise many questions. The most pressing question is: What are the priorities of life to mankind? Is it bread, as viewed by the so-called scientists, old intellectuals, and dictatorships in the Middle Ages, or are they tranquillity and stability, as viewed by modern psychology? Does the statement by the teacher, who has not been paid for five months while continuing her normal work with greater enthusiasm, represent a unique case, or does it stem from the alertness of an educated Kurdish woman who is aware of what lies ahead after trying to leave behind her suffering forever?

The answer is as simple as the words of the teacher herself. It is only one case of thousands of cases and one example of thousands of examples. There are thousands of teachers and government employees who continue to carry out their daily duties with vigor and determination despite the nonpayment of their salaries for months, despite the increasing cost of living and high prices, the scarcity of commodities and fuel, the continuing two-month cold wave, and the unplanned economic blockade whose consequences are not accounted for and which has been imposed on the liberated areas of Kurdistan for approximately five months. Is this not a sign of incorrect and inaccurate calculations by those who imposed the blockade with the aim of embarrassing the Kurdistan Front before the masses in the liberated areas, and consequently to usurp their will and to force them to make concessions at the expense of the rights of the Kurdish people—who have struggled for these rights for more than 50 years—in exchange for silencing the hungry people, as the blockade's supporters had hoped?

Now that the Kurdish people have passed the critical stage of the blockade and are approaching the spring season—the spring which in Kurdistan has meanings and good news for the Kurdish people—is this not the time for those who bet on the economic blockade and its political results to reconsider their calculations which are

based on an incorrect assessment of the priorities of human life—the assessment which mistakenly ranks stability, security, and tranquillity after bread?

Yes, bread is necessary, but it is only delicious with freedom and stability.

Ramadan Receives New Libyan Charge d'Affaires

JN0503120692 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1130 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and vice president, today received new Libyan charge d'affaires Sa'id Ahmad (?Abu-Halq) on the occasion of his assumption of his duties.

They discussed means to improve brotherly ties between the two fraternal countries.

Paper Supports IRA Attacks Against British

JN0703105892 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1000 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Baghdad, 7 Mar (INA)—The AL-QADISIYAH newspaper says that the British rulers, who go to great lengths in shameless statements about their alleged support for human rights and democracy and who preach to

the world's peoples to educate them about these topics, themselves are persisting in their perpetration of the most heinous forms of repression and terrorism against the Irish people.

In an article published today the paper adds that the policy of repression and terrorism pursued by the London authorities against the Irish people is no longer useful. The Irish people have learned how to walk their path to freedom and independence and how to make their voices heard through the successful and daring attacks mounted against the British rulers' colonialist interests by the underground IRA.

The paper likens the immense sacrifices being made by the Irish people, who are suffering under the yoke of British colonialists due to various forms of repression, torture, and suppression being used against them, to the painful and bitter state of affairs plaguing other peoples of the British Isles, such as the Scottish and the Welsh. These people are experiencing similar situations and are being victimized by the same racist and aggressive policies, policies pursued under the false guise of democracy.

AL-QADISIYAH notes that escalating the IRA's struggle for and adherence to the option of national independence is the proper way to persuade the British colonialists to evacuate Northern Ireland.

Reported Sale of Patriot to PRC 'Baseless Lie'

TA1203142392 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1400 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] The defense establishment has denied a U.S. report that Israel transferred a Patriot missile or its technology to the PRC. The defense minister's media adviser told our correspondent Karmela Menashe that the report is a baseless lie. The report, which was published in THE WASHINGTON TIMES and quoted a senior administration official, said that U.S. intelligence information that Israel had sold a Patriot missile to the PRC is being investigated.

'Sources' Assess Iraqi Military Might

TA1203184292 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1705 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Report by Karmela Menashe]

[Text] Israeli sources believe that Iraq will be able to return to normal activities and convert its defeat in the war into a victory if the UN committees' supervision of Iraq is lifted. They say that Saddam Husayn is engaged in brinkmanship in a narrow field within which he believes he can continue to maneuver on the assumption that he can go on hiding his military capability without coming to any harm. The sources add that Saddam Husayn still firmly holds the reins of power and that reports that he has lost control are exaggerated. The expectation that the military blow against Iraq would lead to shockwaves in the country did not come about.

The experts say that the Iraqi Army is being rehabilitated, with Saddam Husayn first of all strengthening the Republican Guards. Some of the Iraqi bridges destroyed in the war have been rebuilt. Some 50 percent of the electricity infrastructure has already been repaired. Most of the capability to drill and refine oil has been restored. Although the Iraqi Army sustained a heavy blow, it is still a very large army of an estimated 400,000 personnel with 30 divisions compared with 60 prior to the Gulf war. The Iraqi forces have between 2,000 and 2,500 tanks, 3,500 armored personnel carriers, and 1,500 artillery pieces. The Air Force is not flying, and the aircraft that defected to Iran during the war have still not been returned to Iraq. Only Iraqi helicopters are being operated.

The main problem is in the nonconventional field. The Iraqis are trying to conceal [as heard] the embargo and to maintain their capability in that sphere. Most of their chemical warfare capabilities have been uncovered. Had the Iraqis continued their nuclear production, they would have been capable of producing a nuclear bomb in 1992. The Iraqis had planned to manufacture nuclear warheads, but they have still not reached that capability.

The Israeli sources do not discount the possibility that the Americans will strike a military blow against Iraq, even if it is merely a symbolic one. They stress, however, that it is not an easy decision for the U.S. President, especially since a reasonable level of success has to be assured in a such a military action.

Levi, U.S. Official Discuss Syria, Palestinians

TA1203193792 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1705 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Report by political correspondent Arye Golan]

[Text] The United States should demand that Syria cease its buildup of weapons of mass destruction. Syria is following its Iraqi sister, and the missiles it is purchasing are noted for their even more precise technology. Syria is also making an effort to develop chemical weapons, and deals for the procurement of advanced Russian and East European tanks are being struck. These dangerous signs should be noted in a timely manner.

This grave warning was issued by Foreign Minister David Levi in his meeting today with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John R. Bolton. The foreign minister also defined as political terrorism Syria's declarations that a delay in the peace process will cause war. Such declarations are intolerable, and no country would have embarked on a peace process under such circumstances. The foreign minister also mentioned Syria's rapprochement vis-a-vis Iran and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards' activity in southern Lebanon. Levi noted that in this situation of military buildup and threats, Syria still enjoys \$2 billion in foreign aid, and asked: Has the West decided to aid terrorism?

Levi added that the Palestinians as well are not behaving in a manner compatible with the principles of the peace process. Israel will not agree to a situation in which issues under negotiation between the parties are disseminated by the Palestinians in the United Nations as UN papers. This violates all rules and harms the peace process.

Levi emphasized Israel's determination to continue the peace process, but at the same time explained that the grave problems must be handled firmly. Therefore, David Levi said, the United States and Israel should increase their cooperation and coordination, which are so vital for the promotion of the peace process. A message in this spirit will be conveyed to Secretary of State Baker by Bolton.

Egyptian Envoy Summoned on Espionage Affair

TA1203185992 Jerusalem Israel Television Network
in Hebrew 1800 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] The Egyptian ambassador to Israel was summoned by the Foreign Ministry's director general today and apprised of Israel's demand that the Egyptian

authorities release David Ovitz at once if indeed there is no evidence against him. Businessman Ovitz has been locked up for over 30 days now on suspicion of espionage. Our political correspondent Gadi Sukenik reports that Ambassador Muhammad Basyuni also was required to act to expedite the interrogation of the jailed members of the Misrati family. Director General Hadas and other Foreign Ministry officials also complained about the unjustified anti-Israeli atmosphere that the Egyptian media are creating while the Egyptian authorities do nothing to prevent it.

Poll Shows Labor Leading, Rabin Favored

TA1303100292 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew
13 Mar 92 p 4

[Text] The Modi'in Ezrahi Institute conducted a poll among 1,208 interviewees between 22 February and 4 March. The poll did not include new immigrants, kibbutzim, Jewish settlements in the territories, and IDF [Israel Defense Forces] bases. The poll breakdown refers to Knesset seats.

Knesset vote breakdown as compared with previous polls and 1988 elections:

	12th Knesset elections, Nov 1988	Aug 91	Nov 91	Jan 92	Feb 92
Likud	40	38	44	35	35
Labor	39	33	29	32	36
Moledet	2	5	3	5	4
Tzomet	2	4	4	5	4
Tehiya	3	4	4	3	4
Democratic Israel	10	12	15	15	15
Agudat Yisra'el	5	6	6	6	5
Degel Hatora	2	2	1	2	2
SHAS	6	5	4	5	4
NRP	5	5	4	6	5
PLP + HADASH + ADP	6	6	6	6	6
Total	120	120	120	120	120

[Key to abbreviations: SHAS—Torah Observing Sephardim; NRP—National Religious Party; PLP—Progressive List for Peace; HADASH—Democratic Front for Peace and Equality; ADP—Arab Democratic Party]

The favorite candidate for prime minister: Rabin—20.9 percent; Shamir—20.3; Peres—13.7; Netanyahu—6.5; Sharon—6.0; Beni Begin—2.8; Arens—2.0.

The favorite candidate for defense minister: Sharon—19.0 percent; Arens—17.7; Rabin—16.9; Refa'el Eytan—7.6; 'Ezer Weizman—4.2; Mordekhay Gur—3.2.

The favorite candidate for foreign minister: Netanyahu—23.6 percent; Levi—17.5; Abba Eban—13.0; Arens—7.1.

The favorite candidate for finance minister: Yitzhaq Moda'i—20.9 percent; Peres—11.3; Moshe Nisim—10.1; Gad Ya'aqobi—7.4.

King Confers With Bush, Baker on Peace Process

JN1303061292 Amman Radio Jordan in English
0530 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Text] His majesty the king and U.S. President George Bush held a meeting in Washington last night. They discussed a number of regional and international issues. His majesty stressed on the peace process and explained Jordan's stand toward several significant aspects of the process. His majesty emphasized the need to abide by the international legitimacy as the basis to make the peace process succeed. His majesty pointed particularly to the need to halt Jewish settlement activities in the occupied Arab territories, as such activities represent a stark violation of the international legitimacy.

On his part, President Bush stressed the U.S. commitment to seriously follow up the peace process and lauded his majesty's pioneering role in the peace process.

Prime Minister al-Sharif Zayd Bin-Shakir described his majesty's talks with President Bush as friendly and understanding. The meeting was attended by the prime minister. On the American side, it was attended by the U.S. secretary of state and the president's national security adviser.

Yesterday evening, his majesty received, at his residence in Washington, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and discussed the peace developments as well as relations between Jordan and the United States.

Minister on Shipments to Iraq, Egypt Ties

JN1203151692 Amman AKHBAR AL-USBU' in Arabic
12 Mar 92 p 8

[Excerpts] In a statement to AKHBAR AL-USBU', Transport Minister 'Ali al-Suhaymat has said that inspecting shipments bound for Iraq is an internal affair. He also said that Jordan is committed to the UN

Security Council Resolutions. He added that exports to Iraq are confined to foodstuffs and medicine. [passage omitted]

As for the economic siege on the port of al-'Aqabah and the damages inflicted on the Jordanian economy, the minister said that the siege is still on and that inspection takes place in the Red Sea and at the entrance of al-'Aqabah port. He added that this siege has greatly harmed the Jordanian economy and will continue unless the Security Council changes its resolutions. However, it should be noted that inspections began to ease lately and ships are not being harassed the way they were before. Generally, he said, the situation is improving.

Asked about inspection of Jordanian trucks traveling to Iraq and the magnitude of this inspection if it existed, the minister emphasized that there is no such inspection. He said that this issue is related to Jordan's internal security and no one has the right to interfere in it. Anyway, he added, we only transport permissible foodstuffs and medicine to Iraq. Therefore, any inspection is internal without any external interference.

Asked about the truth of a reported U.S. surveillance of Iraq via satellites, the minister said that under the economic siege surveillance is legitimate by all means as long as it does not violate UN Security Council resolutions. We, as a small and weak Arab state in comparison to the power of America, will not be able to do anything. It should be noted that lifting the siege is an Arab demand, but there is no way to accomplish it.

As for the recent Jordanian-Egyptian talks and their impact on improving ties and removing the chill in bilateral relations, the minister said it is time to heal Arab wounds, return to Arab alliance, and settle differences. He added: Jordan is always seeking to improve its relations with the Arab brothers and this is a constant policy. [passage omitted]

Nasrallah on Conditions for Rocket Attacks

NC1203134692 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain
in Arabic to Lebanon 1230 GMT 12 Mar 92

[Text] Hizballah Secretary General Hasan Nasrallah has announced that Hizballah does not believe it is useful to fire rockets during operations carried out inside the occupied territory. He noted, however, that if the enemy advances into the liberated areas with its planes, tanks, and missiles, then Hizballah has the right to use all the weapons at its disposal.

In a press interview, Nasrallah added that the best response to 'Abbas al-Musawi's brutal assassination is to escalate resistance operations. We believe in this policy and we will continue it, he said.

Hizballah Statement Condemns Algerian Regime

NC1303084092 Ba'labakk Voice of the Oppressed
in Arabic 0630 GMT 13 Mar 92

[Statement issued by Hizballah on the decision to disband the Algerian Islamic Salvation Front, FIS; place, date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Day after day the ruling regime is pushing the situation toward further instability and tension. It has become clear that the cycles of violence and the reasons of tension are being caused by the coupist regime, which provoked the masses and arrested the symbols of Islamic action in a well-planned step to foil the people's choices from the moment it took power.

The main reason for the country's entry into the whirlpool of instability, tension, and confrontation was the suspension and cancellation of the results of the elections. Subsequent decisions have been adopted obstructing political life, closing party centers, imposing the emergency law, and banning gatherings and all forms of individual and collective forms of protests. The regime's policy of violating the people's political and

civilian rights culminated in the decision to ban the FIS. This decision is an attempt to escape from the choice of confrontation with the masses. The regime has not and will not be able to confront this overwhelming resentment, which has increased following the decision to disband the FIS. There is a growing feeling of anxiety that the regime's ultimate aim is to squash independent voices, arrest opponents, steal the loaf of bread, and sequester all forms of political freedom.

What is ludicrous is that the decision to disband the FIS came in the form of a decision by an Algerian court. This is as if the regime wants to imply that the judgment is fair and just and that the court adopted its decision and issued its judgment without being influenced from the outside. Nobody is deceived by this type of trick. The decision to disband the FIS was political, inspired from abroad, and was taken from the first moment of the coupist regime's coming to power.

Where is judicial independence in a regime that has imposed the emergency law, obstructed political life, and canceled the election results? The decision to disband the FIS will increase the Algerian people's determination to adhere to their aspirations and to their faith in the principles of Islam, which has defended and is defending its right to freedom of activity and expression. The regime will become weaker, especially now that it has placed itself face-to-face against the people and has thrown thousands of innocent young people in remote detention centers as part of an overt plot. This plot is being abetted by the arrogant forces led by the United States and France and by the agent regimes in Tunisia and Morocco.

Hizballah declares its support for and solidarity with the FIS and the Algerian people, who aspire for freedom and Islamic rule and to topple the tyrants, who are the enemies of mankind. The Algerian people reject subservience to foreigners and want to return to Islamic teachings and serve the nation's causes, including confrontation with the Zionist enemy, liberation of the Holy Land, and severing the hands of the foreign enemies.

Al-Asad Delivers Speech on Start of New Term*JN1203170192 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1009 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Speech by President Hafiz al-Asad marking the oath-taking ceremony of a new constitutional term at the People's Assembly in Damascus—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker of the People's Assembly, O sisters and brothers, and members of the People's Assembly: I am very pleased to meet with you after the people voted in the general referendum and decided to continue the march of construction and freedom.

The people's pledge of allegiance was valuable in its meaning and great in its content. Millions of Syrians took to the streets in cities and villages to declare to the whole world that the national unity in Syria has become an integrated political, economic, and social system that is deeply rooted in the masses. This system is based on association, solidarity, and coherence.

The lofty and sincere feelings filled with love and faithfulness were the result of a march lasting two decades, during which our people attained achievements that made them—even before the date of referendum—express their feelings and beliefs in the course that Syria has chosen.

The people's confidence, O brothers, is a source of strength, and the masses' love strengthens the resolve to face challenges. In accepting with all pride and love the people's decision to shoulder the responsibility, I know that the challenges ahead require untiring and continuous work, that the responsibility will be heavier when the love increases, and that when the people's actions and ambitions become greater the situation will require more sacrifice.

The feelings of joy and the demonstrations of cooperation and coherence among the masses embrace tranquility and pride. The Syria people have proven on many occasions that their sacrifices are unlimited. They gave shining examples in their actions, behavior, confidence, and sacrifices whose strength and meaning are unique. Millions of Syrians acted in a spontaneous and honest way, expressing the collective will that moves the individual from a state of egoism to a state of collectivism. The people, from different factions, age groups, and social levels, participated in the referendum. They gave their approval to our achievements, pledged to continue the march, and accepted what we must do in terms of sacrificing and giving within the framework of national unity in which differences disappear and love and admiration prevail.

The days of the referendum were decisive in shaping skills, feelings, and ideas. They also defined the course of social change, because what Syria witnessed in the final weeks of 1991 was unprecedented in its contemporary and past history. This was recorded by observers.

As a result, interaction, unity, expressions of affection, love, and sacrifice have had a qualitative effect on our people's life. This life was characterized by a mixture of realism and ambition, a mixture that moves a human being to a higher plane in terms of faithfulness and self-denial.

Since the dawn of the Corrective Movement, Syria has decided that man is the starting point, the reason for life. The man in Syria has responded to this decision by showing his ability to give, to sacrifice. The word yes was accompanied by action and behavior. The people—old and young, men and women—took to the streets to express their joy and appreciation for what has been achieved and to demonstrate that they are aware of the fact that the present environment, which is marked by stability, security, and construction, is the result of persistent efforts in which we all took part.

As a result, the masses, with their sound judgment, realize that the future is bound to be brighter than the present. It will be the outcome of what was achieved yesterday and what will be achieved today and tomorrow.

All of us in positions of responsibility—both official and popular—must realize the people's hopes and aspirations. We will then be fulfilling our duty on the one hand, and winning the people's respect and affection on the other. The greatest thing is to have the people's affection.

When I was watching the festivals of the masses, who were celebrating openly, I knew that what links me to the people was the same thing that links the people to the land. People and land together make a homeland. He who has no link to the people and land has no homeland, and he who has no homeland has no existence. [applause]

To the people, our great people, I convey once again my affection, pride, and appreciation. Our people in Syria, our brothers and sisters, are genuine people, who draw from their heritage and history a ceaseless supply of noble values and ethics and who interacted with human civilization in a creative way. Through their history, they maintained their life force, which is filled with goodness, nobility, and sacrifice and which comes to the fore whenever the need for giving and sacrifice arises.

Brothers, we meet today to celebrate the 29th anniversary of the 8 March Revolution, which was the outcome of struggle and suffering, resulting from the political, economic, cultural, and social conditions that had existed in our country for a long time. Ignorance and backwardness dominated, signs of chaos were on the increase, and feelings of security and confidence in the present and the future did not exist. A new generation was forced to rebel against this situation and moved in an opposite direction in order to create a new reality, moving from darkness to light, from backwardness to progress, from chaos to order, and from a small, narrow outlook to the concept of a homeland. That generation moved from loyalty to the small geographic area to

loyalty to the homeland in all its dimensions and concepts. I am not talking about a few years here, but about a historic phase in the this country. The 8 March Revolution marked a significant milestone, a historic turning point.

Greetings to our great people, who launched the 8 March Revolution and who protected and defended it despite the difficulties and challenges, which were meant to suffocate the revolution and prevent its growth and continuity. The people were successful and continued to develop and improve the revolution's ideas. Efforts and ideas continue to emerge because the people possess great energy, inexhaustible and untouched by difficulties. Such energy cannot be depleted because it comes from virtue, and virtue does not end because it originates from God.

If lack of political and ideological stability marred the first years of the revolution's age with the negative impact on the economic, social, defense, and other areas, we have since resolved this problem after the birth of the Corrective Movement in 1970. Since then, we have started a large-scale national development campaign that covers the whole spectrum of national needs despite its wide breadth and versatility, in its spiritual and material aspects. We have also begun to build and reinforce our internal capabilities. We contacted all the parties that used to exist before the Corrective Movement and before the 8 March Revolution. An open dialogue was initiated among all these parties. No one forced his opinion on another. It was a responsible national dialogue that took the time it needed. Extensive discussions continued for more than a year. Finally, the parties reached a full and documented agreement, proceeding from national interests and out of concern for a strong national march.

We began a joint national march down a long road. It was a new qualitative experience, unprecedented in our country and unmatched in other countries. There have been national fronts in other countries, but I say that this experiment differs a great deal in terms of its seriousness, content, its actions, and effectiveness.

The front continued its activity over the past two decades, accelerating from time to time its method of action. I cannot recall one single issue, on the national level, whether domestic or foreign, which was decided or needed to be discussed, without tackling it within the framework of the National Progressive Front [NPF]. We used to exchange opinions in a responsible, free manner. We used to discuss and interpret, differ and agree, finally to reach an agreement based on the opinions of the speakers.

I do not recall that we disagreed over important matters that we had discussed in any of our sessions, which always lasted a long time. This is because everybody was concerned that the scope of topics under discussion be widened and that we finally reach the most correct, unified opinion and decision. This does not mean that we did not discuss less important matters; in fact, we

constantly discussed less important matters. However, we considered and continue to consider that all matters for discussion are important; otherwise, there would have been no justification for talk about them. The door has always been open for the front to discuss every matter that it decides to address.

The NPF has been an important national achievement and a great gain for the causes of the people and the homeland. It has played an important role in our national steadfastness against the multifaceted challenges to our homeland and to our pride, interests, sovereignty, free decisionmaking, and pan-Arab line. Nevertheless, we want greater results from the front than what has been achieved. Greater development can still be made to address more effectively the homeland's issues and objectives. [applause]

Man always aspires to perfection but fails to achieve it. His aspirations to achieve it, however, should not be allowed to wither and die. Man must make persistent efforts to achieve perfection. I hope that we will meet soon to discuss and decide what we deem appropriate to develop the work of the NPF and enhance its national effectiveness. [applause]

As part of our national construction endeavor, we have taken great interest in our popular organizations, which have become strong pillars in defending this homeland, the loftiness of this homeland and its construction, to safeguard its will—a matter that is a source of our great pride and appreciation. Also, as part of our national construction endeavor, efforts have been made to enhance our trade associations by assimilating the people belonging to a single profession into a single organization, instead of several organizations, as was the case with the physicians and lawyers associations. These associations, once merged, were thus able to play their national role, which they must play. We now see them actually playing their role, a matter that elicits our pride. Similarly, as part of our national construction endeavor, we have reshaped the institutions of the executive and legislative authorities, as well as those of local administrations, which is a new experiment meant to achieve the broadest possible popular participation through elections and proper representation.

Furthermore, as part of the national construction endeavor, we have made plans, methods, and various economic structures with the aim of using all our national resources in building and promoting the economy. This endeavor has steadily and increasingly attained significant success. Moreover, we had our own cultural and social plans. We made immense efforts in this regard and scored significant success, regardless of all the difficulties we encountered, difficulties of which you are well aware.

Brothers, I am not reviewing our accomplishments. Were I to do this, I would need a long time to enumerate and explain these accomplishments. Instead, I sought to articulate broad outlines of some of our interests and

accomplishments during the previous phase, which created and reinforced national unity and strengthened the country politically, economically, culturally, socially, and militarily. The realization of these accomplishments has created a solid domestic front that can weather any storm that might afflict the homeland. These accomplishments were also meant to enable the country to respond to the aspirations and hopes of all our countrymen. This domestic front, which is politically, socially, economically, and culturally soled, is what we have always sought in building and safeguarding the homeland. It is the base of steadfastness and the key to success and progress. Moreover, it is the foundation for all the accomplishments that we have and want to attain. Likewise, it is the shield that protects the country from any danger. This front will remain the focus of our constant attention, because our splendid national unity, which can be seen at every phase and in all the experiences we have had, dictates that we continue to make efforts and pay more attention to our domestic issues, issues pertaining to all citizens, to their interests and aspirations.

We fought all our battles, battles of liberation, construction, and steadfastness; and we survived all kinds of pressure with our cohesive domestic front and wonderful national unity. Thus, our people have, as has always been their custom, set an example for national awareness and for a high sense of national responsibility. These people, who are facing incredible risks and challenges and who sweat and make sacrifices in blood to vindicate this homeland and safeguard its dignity and freedom, are worthy of all love and affection. Hence, it is fitting for us to make every possible effort to realize their hopes and aspirations, enhance their national unity, and safeguard their cohesive domestic front. [applause]

Safeguarding the citizen's dignity, protecting his security and stability, securing dignified living, and providing job opportunities to the new generations, on whom the homeland depends, should be the focus of our constant attention.

The democratic march that we began after 16 November 1970 has released the people's potential and enabled the citizen to participate in building the country and sharing in the public life.

The form of democracy chosen by our people is neither a static framework nor a closed road; rather, it is a graphic issue that develops and changes in accordance with the development of our political, economic, social, and cultural circumstances. The democratic form is not a commodity that is imported from this or that country, but it is the framework through which the citizens practice their rights and duties according to their circumstances in every stage.

Every stage of progress, development, and construction that we realize, provides new facts in various horizons of life that should reflect themselves on the democratic framework. In order for any people to have a democratic

life, a very delicate balance should be realized between the form—I mean the structure and the laws—and the outcome of the cultural, traditional, political, economic, and social facts which the people have. Any imbalance means that the people will live a nondemocratic life.

The suffering begins with imbalance, and if the imbalance grows, life would be more nondemocratic, whether the form was more advanced than the facts or the facts were more advanced than the form. And because the cultural, traditional, political, economic, and social facts are different among all peoples, no specific democratic form was able to impose itself, through its power or attraction, on all peoples at any time in the history of mankind.

Although man has always insisted on realizing a democratic life, which means the rule of people by the people themselves, several forms which all peoples follow have continued to exist at the same time and at the same historical moment. On several occasions, these forms which seek the same objective appeared to be different to the point of contradiction.

In order to make have justice for ourselves and our people and in order to live a democratic life as much as possible, we must always look at what is in our country and to view the reality with its various aspects in a thorough, objective, and scientific manner in order to reach the right resolution. The appropriate resolution to the people is only inspired from the people themselves.

Hence, I say that under our democratic course we are closer to democracy, and the citizen in our country plays a greater role than the role played in many other countries, including the developed countries that raise the banner of democracy in their own way and according to their concepts.

In addition to state and official institutions, which are democratically elected, we have local councils, the People's Assembly, as well as other assemblies. There are also popular organizations, including their branches and hierarchical commands, which are also elected democratically. We have, moreover, professional unions, with their branches and hierarchical divisions, which are elected democratically. There are also parties and their commands, which are also elected democratically. All of these practice political activity and participate in authority and decisionmaking.

The worker, peasant, teacher, student, woman, merchant, physician, engineer, and lawyer, each in his trade, participates in activating state and community life. This does not exist in other countries. We as citizens should be aware of this. [applause]

Other countries have a parliament and a speaker and that is all. No one in these countries, as we all know, interferes or participates in state decisions or in the country's general decisions, except for the elected body, whether it is a parliament or a people's assembly, in addition to the head of state. The situation in our

country is completely different. You represent parties, organizations, and a large segment of our people, whose members are not affiliated with parties or organizations. More than two thirds of this assembly, I believe, can be called independents who, to the best of my knowledge, do not belong to any party or organization. [applause]

If political pluralism is one of the features of democratic life, then we have underscored this pluralism for over 20 years. We practiced it in the various aspects of our life. The parties participating in the National Progressive Front share in the responsibility of running state affairs. In Syria, there are more parties than there are in a many other states. As you know, in some advanced or large nations, there are always two parties who assume power in turn. Syria has several national parties that have a long history of national struggle. These parties were established decades ago. This does not mean, however, that there is no possibility for new national parties. It means that we introduced and experienced political and party pluralism before many of those who are talking about it these days, without their conceptualizing about party pluralism or partisanship itself.

Parties in several countries are election parties. They have one seasonal role practiced during the election season; this is in some countries, not all. You know that your parties are not like that; your parties, organizations, and individuals are not like that.

Democracy does not mean political chaos. It seems that some think that in order for us to be democratic we have to wrestle with each other, and that there should always be fighting, unrest, and conflict. Democracy does not mean political chaos; it does mean, however, making available the best circumstances that enable the citizen to make a free choice, including his choice of representatives and to do all that serves the homeland and people.

Democracy requires organization that secures and safeguards freedom, but chaos produces just the reverse. Our success in marshalling society into popular organizations and professional unions alongside the parties has underscored the importance of our democratic option. The participation of these organizations and unions in political institutions, all of which are elected bodies, has helped develop the country and create stable relationships among the different strata of the the society. It has also entrenched the political, traditional life that has formed a fence protecting our march. These organizations and unions have fulfilled key missions in the life of the country and defense of its causes. They have also given an impetus to development and progress and consolidated the internal front, and thus given the revolution a comprehensive, popular base for all society's energies. The result has been reinforced stability in the nation and great achievements. The democracy that we always make efforts to develop and regenerate in the best interests of our people and country does not simply mean the citizen's taking part in the electoral process. It

means an effective contribution to our political, economic, social, and cultural life. At the same time, the elected bodies' fulfillment of their duties at all levels, as set out in the Constitution and the statute books, is crucial to safeguarding democracy and a prerequisite for ensuring the democratic process. Naturally, I do not mean that we have attained the ideal to which we aspire, and I have said in part of my speech that man pursues perfection but he does not attain it, and yet he must walk down that road. This means that we are not to mark time, nor to stay in one place. Life is rich, but to the extent that we enrich our agenda politically, economically, and culturally, we will need a new formula and that is democracy.

I once told a foreign visitor among other things that the per capita income in your country is \$20,000; give us that much and then talk to us about your democracy, because your concerns are not ours. If we apply the formulas of the rich—and we will never do this—this will make us even poorer, and they will weaken our security and make us more ignorant and more backward. We want to move forward. Here is another thing: Each nation has its own heritage and history, and, consequently, its own culture, soul, concepts, and manners. If this were not so, our world would have been one nation; this is not the case. Heritage produces formulas and concepts. Each one of us carries in his mind and heart customs different from those of an individual in a Western country, for example. Likewise, he has customs different from ours. So, how can we follow the same formula in running our affairs in terms of freedom and bread? As I have said, we seek to attain freedom in its different dimensions in common with every individual in this world and to attain the democracy they talk about which, in the final analysis, is a formula of government and administration. However, each pursues that end in his own way and according to the resources available in his own country.

I wanted to refer to this because maybe—not maybe, but certainly—even in the Arab countries, you will find someone who talks about democracy and has in mind only one picture which he likes because he did not search, within himself, for any other picture. He left the thinking to someone else and wanted to take advantage of another's work, and, consequently, wear the garment that was made by the others without knowing whether it fits his body, mind, and psychology, or not. [applause]

Haven't you seen those who wore garments not tailored to them? Haven't you seen those who searched for democracy outside themselves and their countries? What happened? Certainly, we want democracy. On the other hand, we have the right to demand from those who demand that we have democracy.... [pauses] Democracy is not that simple. Democracy does not mean that because there is a movement in the West concerned with that person, you should come to tell me that such a person is in jail. He comes to tell me that he is interceding on behalf of that person because, without saying

it, he supports freedom. Of course, the individual's freedom is very important, a basic issue, and we all work and search for it.

Of course, there is another consideration in the story of that person to whom I referred. They search in our country for a Syrian Jewish citizen, for example, who is in jail. Indeed, a Western official came to visit me and raised this issue. I only learned the name of the prisoner from that mediator. I did not know whether someone with that name was in jail or not. Naturally, no official knows who is in jail. There are parties concerned with this. I told him that first, this is interference in our domestic affairs. May I go to your country and search for a certain person? I most certainly will be able to find a name. May I go to your country and ask you what you are asking me now? Would you accept this? Wouldn't this be considered an intervention in your country's domestic affairs? Doesn't this constitute an infringement on your sovereignty? Should you come to Syria to talk to me about a Syrian Jewish citizen, even if that Syrian is in jail, along with 10 others like him? There are thousands of Syrians in jail, just as in your country and in every country in the world where there are ordinary crimes, a judiciary, and jails. There are hundreds or even thousands of Syrians who, according to your classification, are Muslim and Christian Syrians. So, why haven't you asked about any of them? Finally, I told him: You will not get what you have asked for; he asked me for something regarding that prisoner. I said: You will not get what you have asked for, and I do not want you to raise this issue again. [applause]

The problem is that some of these countries think that their system—when I say some countries, I do not mean the people in these countries.... [pauses] Some members of an elected assembly, for example, may come to discuss certain issues saying they have noble values. When you discuss the issues with them, you see that they lack both logic and evidence. When we review what we have and what they have, they start looking for very minor issues to talk about. They themselves have these minor problems; they exist in every country, and we all have them. In view of the conflict between us and Israel, in view of the presence of Israel's supporters in a number of countries, and in view of the many gaps in these regimes, democratic gaps that exist in these countries, Israel's supporters in a number of these countries can officially make a decision in line with their democratic idea.

I told one of them: You are a parliament member elected by the people to represent their interests. When you work in the interest of another country and when your linkage to that country plays a major role in your national decisionmaking in your own country, do you represent the interests of your own country? And when you do not represent the interests of your country, doesn't this mean that you have deviated from democracy because democracy means that the people rule themselves by themselves. When you exploit your country's and people's interests to serve another country you deviate from the root and branches of this democracy. We will become

real democrats in order to join with you. The difference between us and you—and that is what angers you—is the existence of you call the lobby, the Zionist lobby. You want to see any lobby in our country to exploit people for external interests, not for Syria's interests, and then you will say: This might be, particularly if it is in the interest of the Zionist lobby. Praise be to God, this possibility does not exist in our country. [applause]

Democracy is also not unilateral. There is political, social, and economic democracy, and there is also international democracy. This is important to us and to Third World nations. All aspects are important, but this is important because we suffer from it. The countries that uphold the slogan of democracy should implement and exercise—particularly when they speak of this with other people, as is taking place with us—international democracy which calls for equality among the states, freedom in relations, treatment on equal footing among countries, and noninterference in domestic affairs, sovereignty, and independence. This is in addition to other words that have the same meaning. This is not implemented in today's world, particularly by states that emphasize democracy and view other countries, particularly those in the Third World, as undemocratic.

We support democracy of all kinds, but also in situations and with concepts that I noted and that differ from one area to another and from one nation to another. The essence remains the same. Here, I am repeating the paragraph I noted where, throughout the history of mankind—as we know, read, and hear—the economic, cultural, social, and political situation in human communities has always been different. Therefore, the ruling systems have always been different between one nation and another. The issue here is not to look at particular moments in our life. Most people now live in a modern age which is also changing. There was a socialist communist camp and a Western camp. The socialist camp has collapsed. And this is real now. Therefore, they imagine that the Western model is appropriate. They forget that in the West, also, the democratic form is not the same, was not the same in the past, and will never be the same in the future, neither in the West nor in the East. We Arabs are one nation and speak the same language. All components of unity do exist. Despite this, the ruling systems are not the same. Here, I do not want to make excuses or say that these criteria which I mentioned such as economy, culture, and others are taken into consideration in the structure of all our regimes. This is not the case. However, even if we Arabs agreed on applying the criteria which I noted, as long as we are numerous states, it would be difficult to reach exactly the same formula. Throughout our division-ridden history and throughout the period in which we have always lived as independent states, some social, cultural, and other differences appeared.

If we were to apply the Syrian model to others, it would not work. I am talking here about one nation that has all the requirements of a nation. What would things be like if the situation were different? In the West there are

monarchies, republics, and sometimes they have a prime minister and sometimes a president at the top of the hierarchy, or a king or queen, for that matter. All of them talk about democracy. I am talking about a given community that raises the slogan of democracy more than others. And yet, I repeat: I do not view our pattern as the ideal. We must always seek the better option, but this must be based on accurate calculations, as a mistake begets further mistakes, and things get out of hand, and as a result, we will have to pay a heavy price as happened with others. Naturally, when I raise this issue, this is not to say that the question arises in our country. Like any other nation in the world, we all work in the political arena; all Syrians are known to be politicians. I tell this to all the foreigners I meet. Before I left my village, all the peasants used to evaluate the world from end to end. [applause] This holds true for every urban and rural neighborhood in our country. I do not want to go on and on about this subject, especially as that some of you are not fasting, and will become hungry. [laughter and applause]

At the same time, the fulfillment of duties by elected bodies as set out in the Constitution and statute books is crucial to safeguarding democracy and a prerequisite to ensuring the democratic process. Cooperation among the elected bodies and those of the Executive Branch will serve to advance the interests of the country, provided it does not hamper the role of any institution, be it in monitoring and accountability or in implementation—something I referred to when I opened your esteemed assembly.

The failure of the bodies, whose duty it is to monitor and make an accounting, would disrupt society, because the absence of monitoring and accountability would serve to produce a state of imbalance and remission. I now call upon you members of the People's Assembly, as I did in the past, to pay attention to this critical and vital duty. [applause]

On the domestic front, it is worthwhile to underscore an axiom that must be honored: respect for the law. Adherence to due process of the law marks an important factor in the stability of society. The failure to apply law loses the confidence of the public and sometimes drives citizens to look for circuitous ways to resolve their problems. The result would be a serious imbalance in society and the work of various state agencies. I stressed this point on a previous occasion. The government must work according to this principle, and should there be a loophole in a given law as a result of a change in circumstances, the competent institutions will have to debate amending or changing the law, as laws must relate to social realities. In the context of discussing law and safeguarding the rights of the society, the state, and citizens, the judicial authorities must be accorded their due attention so that they function ideally. [applause] They must also be staffed with personnel of repute, given that the judiciary must be a safeguard for everyone.

In light of our achievements in all fields of life, it is urgently required that we focus on the modernization of the mechanism of action in the state departments and the modernization of the laws and regulations that govern this mechanism. The new mechanism must be able to increase productivity and accuracy and achieve the maximum benefit from the existing human resources and promote, increase, and raise the efficiency of these resources. Likewise, efforts must continue to modernize methods of operation. The new mechanism must uncover the lazy and the neglectful, and encourage the innovative and productive. It must also promote a sense of responsibility and respect for the law.

Despite our achievements in the areas of culture and education and despite the country's tremendous development in these sectors, we have two tasks that we must underscore. First, we should focus on the firm implementation of the vocational and arts training plan. Second, universities should give primary attention to scientific research. Scientific research must not remain within the theoretical domain but must be a basic pillar for every university alongside education. The government should provide the requirements to achieve this task. [applause]

In the past, we given our attention to the country's economic, social, cultural, and services infrastructure. Major and important achievements have been realized in the country. These achievements have enabled us to continue the construction process and secure citizens' basic needs and meet the national defense requirements. The building of the national economy has received great attention because the building of the economic base, achieving economic prosperity, securing citizens' needs, and providing job opportunities are among the state's major responsibilities. Within this understanding, achieving economic development is a state responsibility and a national duty that must be performed by all citizens, each to his ability.

For our people, the economic process is a national process. A diligent worker performs a national act when he contributes to increasing production. The citizen who contributes to the building of a factory or a ranch would in fact be performing a national act because he would be developing the country's resources. Therefore, all citizens must contribute to this national act, each according to his ability.

Our recognition of economic pluralism has been motivated by national considerations because the country must be a great workshop, with each citizen working in this workshop according to his capabilities. In the past, the state assumed the building of economic institutions and establishments that were outside individuals' capability. Thus, a significant economic base has been established and has provided us with a major portion of our needs; otherwise, the country would have suffered in extremely harsh and difficult circumstances. The state has invested hundreds of billions of Syrian pounds in

economic development. The result has been the establishment of major power, oil, gas, transportation, mechanical, chemical, food, and textile industries. It has been difficult for a developing country that needs everything to stand with hands folded awaiting the unknown. As part of the state's eagerness to perform its duty to enhance the process of economic development and within the framework of economic pluralism, which the state and its institutions have adopted following the Corrective Movement, the door has been opened wide for contributing to the country's construction. The Constitution has maintained the right to ownership. Legislation has been issued to encourage investment. The Investment Law has been issued, giving many privileges to citizens who want to contribute to economic construction. An income tax law has been promulgated, setting tax rates for citizens willing to invest their savings. All this led to substantial economic activity in the private sector, and hundreds of companies have been established. This heralds more prosperity and success for the national economy. Within the framework of economic pluralism and in order to encourage citizens to contribute to economic development, the mixed sector has been established. A number of companies owned jointly by the state and individuals have been established.

When the state made its decision to support economic pluralism, it decided to extend facilities to three sectors—public, private, and mixed—because this pluralism opens the door for all citizens to join in economic activity according to their wishes and in the economic sector they choose. The homeland needs the efforts of all its sons to remain dignified and strong so that all its sons will live in dignity and prosperity. [applause]

In the framework of the brief yet concise discussion on the economy, it seems fair to say that the state has made great efforts to develop the agricultural sector and support farmers, providing them with everything they need. The state has made important achievements in this regard. We have to pursue this approach and give particular attention to the following:

1. Developing the means of production and manufacturing its requirements;
2. Continuing to reclaim territory and expedite achievements by stepping up our efforts;
3. Continuing to cultivate forests and fruit-bearing trees and expediting this process;
4. Expediting and intensifying the building of dams so that no water will be wasted, whether it comes from rivers or rainfall.
5. Taking care of our animal resources and providing for them.

Of course, I do not mean to speak for the policy statement that you will hear in the future. I am only giving a broad outline of issues that I deem important. [applause]

Brothers, we must push for large and comprehensive building, we will do that. We must stimulate our natural

capacities, without which nations cannot rise, and rid ourselves of negligence, dependency, and time-wasting—the ills that preclude the attempts to bring about an awakening in Third World nations. Negligence, dependency, and time-wasting are ills; awareness and will alone can rid man of these. Wasting time is a serious affliction that must be removed. In general, any waste is harmful. The most harmful waste is the waste of time. Man develops, progresses, and succeeds by making use of his time. Nations also progress and develop by investing time in projects. We need to develop a sense of time. We can do this through our awareness and will. When we can fill our time by work, life will become richer and brighter. This does not mean that we will have no time for rest. In fact, we must have a known, set time for rest. The two—that is, a time for work and a time for rest—should not intermingle. If we confuse the two, we will lose both. If we do not, however, then rest will become a requirement for work and work a prerequisite for rest. Each one of them, therefore, will become necessary for the other. Resting will thus become an activity in reality and an objective, and work will become rest in reality and an objective. Resting, as explained above, is one thing, but wasting time and losing the sense of it is a completely different issue. I am confident that eventually—and I hope this will happen soon—we will remove all obstacles to our progress that block our way and limit the results of our efforts. These obstacles are the outcome of the suffering and the policies of obscurantism and injustice that had been practiced against us during the dark colonial ages.

Let us be aware, brothers, to rid ourselves, our minds, and our habits—as soon as possible—of anything we perceive as an obstacle to our success and prosperous life and consider what has happened and what we have missed to make up for it. Almighty God has given us a brain and energy so that we can work toward our well-being, prosperity, and future. [applause]

Brothers, it goes without saying that Syria affects and is affected by what is taking place in the Arab homeland, because it is part of this homeland. The Syrians are part of the Arab nation. Hence, our policy has always been based on achieving Arab solidarity in order to achieve the Arab nation's objectives. We have always sought to achieve all possible forms of effective solidarity. Furthermore, we have advocated unity and urged others to realize it, either with us or with other Arab states. Syria has always been ready and willing to achieve unity with one Arab state or with more than one Arab state. At one point in time, we made such gains. However, efforts in this regard retreated for reasons I do not want to dwell upon right now. We have repeatedly warned of the future dangers faced by the Arabs unless they show solidarity and achieve unity, especially since for a long time, not only now, the state of affairs in the world has constantly confirmed the existence of these dangers. Regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, its extensions and its ramifications, and Israeli endeavors to expand constantly on Arab lands—Israel provides daily proof confirming that

Zionist expansionism and conquest is Israel's constant policy—all this must prompt the Arabs to achieve solidarity and unity. Rarely was progress made in this regard. When any progress was made, it was followed by a setback that undermined the progress made and rendered it nonexistent. We then had to begin over again to succeed. Efforts were again obstructed to abort any success. This continued to be the case for a long time. The end result is that nothing has been achieved. The failure to achieve solidarity and unity can be attributed to two reasons: The first is the obscurantist future outlook espoused by some of us in the Arab homeland, and the second is the fact that there are powers that do not want the Arabs to do well for reasons that have to do with the past, the present, and the future. In their endeavors to render their schemes successful, these powers benefit from the support provided by the obscurantist future outlook espoused by some in the Arab arena. In spite of all this, we should not be deterred. It has never deterred the Syrians from endeavoring determinedly to achieve our pan-Arab objectives of solidarity and unity.

Then, in the second half of the eighties, the features of qualitative world changes began to loom on the horizon. All the previous world changes that emerged in the aftermath of World War II, which I noted in my contacts, talks, and meetings with fraternal Arabs, seemed of little significance, in terms of repercussions on the Arab homeland, when compared to the upcoming far-reaching changes, which are entirely different from the previous changes. We have to explain our perspective and intensify our Arab contacts so that we all may awaken early and identify the upcoming developments, its features, its advantages, and its disadvantages. We must also identify the negative as well as positive repercussions of these changes on us and our enemies. Furthermore, we must place our nation in an appropriate position that keeps it from danger and lends it strength. I had bilateral contacts and public statements on the new changes, as well as the potential instability entailed, the new alliances that could emerge, as well as the dangers posed to weak peoples and nations by this. I also addressed the tasks that the Arabs should address to achieve an effective solidarity among themselves, because the issue concerns an upheaval of international proportions.

It is important to note that these contacts that I noted were held when the Soviet Union was still strong and cohesive and a superpower that laid emphasis, as we did, on Soviet-Syrian friendship, and consequently Soviet-Arab friendship. When I warned of what I have already mentioned—something that caused us here in Syria to be concerned—the state of affairs was different from the current one. This was meant to render us capable of addressing potential dangers with a common perspective before things became exacerbated.

Therefore, I voiced these opinions, conveyed them to the others, and was eager to repeat, explain, and discuss them, before this present situation arose, at a time when there was a strong socialist bloc with whom our contacts

were good. We and the Soviet Union were committed to this friendship and we used to speak always about it.

I think that in order to voice my opinion on international changes and to make it more clear, I want to read excerpts from a speech I delivered at the inauguration of the 10th General Congress of National Federation of Syrian Students on 16 May 1990, 18 months before the Gulf war started. The following is the text of what I said. All of you may have heard it before, but let us remind you because this benefits the believers.

Over two decades, despite all difficulties—which were great and numerous—no one could impose their will on our country or force us to abandon any part of our will. This is how our country will continue in the future. So, let us build it strongly in all aspects; let us build it in our souls and minds before anything else. What is coming seems to be more dangerous and far more destructive—this is an old talk. Those who do not prepare themselves to counter the approaching deadly monsters will be destroyed by these monsters. We, with God's help and the people's will, will not be destroyed. [applause]

There is something new in the world that we must not ignore or neglect. Over decades, the world had been stable as a result of certain balances. But important changes within these balances have taken place. This created an imbalance and disturbance and an unsteady movement toward an unknown destination. The world is in turmoil—this was on 16 May 1990—and no one knows how long this will continue, and what the final outcome will be. But at some point in the future, the world will certainly calm down, and issues will be settled. I want to emphasize that there is no formula for permanent stability in the world. It is impossible, as always before, to know how long the period of stability will last. History has shown that the period of stability changes from one age to another, and even from one phase to another within the same age. The important question is: What will happen from now until the next period of stability? What kind of sparks will spread the fire? What danger will this bring to nations?

There are sparks and there is a potential danger to nations, but it is impossible to determine this danger precisely. What will happen during the period of stability? This period is historically characterized by the existence of major alliances that create an equilibrium. The new, forthcoming alliances will be different from the old ones. They will search for vital horizons. This is something that we have not fabricated, but which comes from history, from the reality of life, our life, and the lives of other people. They will search for new horizons. These horizons take different shapes from time to time, according to the nature and philosophy of the allied forces. The required vital horizon may be political, military, economic, cultural, or something else altogether. It may be some of these things, or all of them. The result is that the vital horizon requires, at a minimum, the usurpation of part of the will of the people and, at its maximum level, the usurpation of the total will of

people. The difference between the two levels is theoretical because those who have half of their will usurped, as it were, cannot exercise the second half of their will, because the will is a unified whole, not assembled pieces.

When a country's political decisionmaking is usurped as part of the vital requirements of a given alliance, such a country cannot make military or economic decisions, except in light of the usurped political decision. When the military decisionmaking of a country is usurped to meet a vital need of a given alliance, such a country cannot exercise the political, economic, or cultural decisionmaking except in light of the military decisionmaking that has been usurped by the authorities of the alliance. This applies to all other aspects. Alliances have always achieved their attempts to acquire additional land at the expense of weak countries and areas. This has always meant colonialism, though in different manifestations. Where do the Arabs as a nation stand vis-a-vis the international changes and open future prospects? This is especially important because Arabs, not others, should look carefully into what Zionism is currently doing in the international arena and what it can do in the future. They should remember what Zionism has done since the beginning of this century, especially during the World Wars I and II and the years between.

Arab minds and eyes should not be blind to Israel's ambitions in the Arab homeland. This matter should not be neglected at any moment of time. The Arabs as a whole have done nothing to face the future and have not initiated any steps to deal with the new world. In fact, they are in a state of confusion and mental, psychological, and political chaos. In more than one location, the peripheries of events are overshadowing their essence and the book's ornamentation is taking precedence over its scientific content.

Syria has called on others, cautioned them, and spoke and continues to speak with them. Perhaps more efforts are needed. Until a better Arab awareness arises—I am still quoting my past remarks—of the dimensions of what happens, Syria in its policies and deeds takes these dimensions, as it views them, into consideration, confident that it will remain the national, pan-Arab stronghold in which its citizens and Arab citizens in general can place their confidence. [applause]

Still, the slogan of Arab solidarity, which Syria has raised and emphasized for a long time, will continue to receive the attention it deserves from us. However, some people are not pleased with this, for a reason or reasons on which we will not now comment. The important issue for us and others is that Syria's positions and words should be understood as they really are. Syria will neither appease nor bargain with anyone on principles. It will call what is right right and what is wrong wrong, especially when the matter relates to pan-Arab issues. This is the way we are and this is the way we will remain. This is Syria's pure pan-Arab role, past, present, and future. This pure pan-Arab role, about which people are honest

with themselves, is what everyone needs and what benefits everyone in our Arab homeland. [applause]

Then I also spoke about the situation in the Soviet Union. I said: As we are talking about international changes, we must assert that the Soviet Union is still Syria's firm friend. To remind others that we are talking at a time... [pauses] Had we viewed matters without farsightedness and insight, we would have felt reassured, just like you, brother Arabs. However, this is not the issue. We view the matter differently. Let us develop a united view and work accordingly. We assert that the Soviet Union is still the firm friend of Syria and the Arab nation. No weakness or slackness in the march of our long-standing friendship ties which bind us have taken place. During my recent visit—it was only 17 days then after my visit to the Soviet Union—I was received with cordiality and warmth. We held talks in a brotherly and comradely atmosphere. There has been an understanding and identical viewpoint between us on the wide range of issues we discussed. The statement transmitted by TASS affirms that. A short statement was issued after the visit, but its clear words stress our strong bilateral relations. Despite the preoccupation of President Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership with internal affairs—this is what they told us—especially those resulting from the new approach within the perestroika policy, they did not ignore external issues, especially those related to their friends, especially in this region. They strongly support Arab rights—that is what they said during the talks—and advocate an international conference on the basis of pertinent UN resolutions. As for our bilateral cooperation, it is continuing as always. We will pay no attention to attempts at distortion which take place from time to time, by certain parties, as long as in a practical sense we do not see any manifestations of this distortion.

As I said previously, our people are not the type to throw away friendship, nor are we ingrates. The Soviet Union was a friend that supported us and stood by our just struggle at various times, and we are going to reciprocate its truthfulness and faithfulness. The Soviet Union understands Arab anxiety over the immigration of Soviet Jews, and this issue received its due attention during our talks in Moscow.

The Soviet leadership emphasized that it will deal with this issue in light of the thoughts we exchanged and will look at it again in the context of Arab rights, because Arab rights must be viewed within the framework of human rights in general, and at the same time they are the rights of the human being whose land is threatened with settlements.

I read this by way of an illustration of the kind of relations we had then. We did not disagree about any point. I mentioned the paragraph regarding the Soviet Union, directly after I discussed international changes, and now this is our speech, as occurred in the same speech. I wanted to add to what I said about the Soviet Union before reading the paragraph and to recall the state of our relations with the Soviet Union then, bearing

in mind that the visit I just referred to preceded the meeting of the General Federation of Syrian Students by only 17 days.

The talks we conducted during the visit were among the best ever held between the two nations. I am sure that then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was serious in what he raised during the talks. We agreed on all important topics, and yet our speech to the students addressed the international situation and how serious it was. This is because a long time ago and before an earlier visit to the Soviet Union, I felt that the question was not about the good intentions of the Soviet leadership and the course of events dictated an end different from the desired end they talked about. The results now bear us out.

At the time, we agreed that Soviet Jewish immigration, in effect, was a blatant aggression on the Arabs, and, in effect, was a blatant aggression on human rights and on Arab land. The right to emigrate is one thing and the right to emigrate in order to steal the land of others is something else. The right to emigrate is one thing, and the right to emigrate in order to kill others is something else. I told him at the time that the Soviet Union is interested in the peace process, and the immigration issue is an important weapon in propelling the peace process forward. Link the emigration to the establishment of peace.

Once peace is established, it is assumed that there will be no killings, nor occupation of other people's territories, and the right to emigrate might under these circumstances be innocent and just. He said this is true, and we may, especially as we have not resumed ties, link relations and emigration to the establishment of peace. We will study the subject and see how we deal with it. Of course, this is the first time I have mentioned the subject, but from the context of my speech, agreement was complete. I am confident that then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was serious in his approach during the talks and we were in accord on all the important things that came up. Yet, my speech to the students, as you heard, was about the international situation and how serious it was. This is because I had, for a long time and before a previous visit, appreciated that the question was not about the good intentions of the Soviet leadership. The course of events dictated an end different from the desired end they talked about.

Therefore, our speech to the students was to explain some of our perspectives on forthcoming international changes and the way we should approach them. It also demonstrated our deep concern for Arab solidarity as the cornerstone for common Arab action on which to build subsequent moves. It also underscored our anger and resentment of those who do not like solidarity and whose motives are not unknown to us. Yet, we will not mention it or comment on it as came in the paragraph in the hope that they will appreciate their interests and the interests of the nation, and so behave accordingly. It is painful that the time passes and some of us are still absorbed in

ourselves. For some of us the world begins and ends in ourselves, and we even fail to see the situation of the Arab nation. They occupy themselves in what is going on in their immediate world and beyond, only to the extent that it affects them personally. They are comfortable and at ease with foreigners who are remote and are worried by close relations. They find a protector in foreigners, and an enemy in close relations. The calamities that have befallen the nation have been brought on by things I have mentioned and other things I have not. There were many people who were not prepared to heed the appeals and advice of brothers.

Instead of making progress we found ourselves continually retreating. Instead of becoming vigilant to dangers and repulsing them, broadening our vision, and making our solidarity attractive, we paved the way for these dangers and opened the Arab homeland's doors wide for them. In this context we were surprised by the Iraqi regime's invasion of Kuwait. This was a big shock to us. This is because we used to see the circles of danger and the intermingling of these circles. We have also seen that the invasion is an Arab tragedy whose shrapnel will strike all Arabs, and that the Arabs will not remain where they are in terms of retreat and fragmentation but will quickly decline toward further paralysis and weakness. Syria did all it could to prevent all of this and to save all sides, particularly Iraq and Kuwait, from catastrophe.

Because it has always been Syria's nature to rise high above wounds for the sake of the nation's interests, it rose high at that moment, above all differences, above the offenses that were directed against it in the past, and above the harms inflicted on it. It has seen its interests in the interests of the other Arabs, and its security in their security. It warned rationally, cordially, and with amity against the bad consequences awaiting all sides in case we could not find a way out from the hell that we had entered. This could not be achieved except by putting an end to the invasion and by a withdrawal from Kuwait.

In light of this, our efforts over several months continued, and did not abate, with the Arab, Islamic, and European states, the USSR, and the United States in an attempt to achieve a political solution. Several states made efforts to bring about such a solution, including the attempts at the Arab summit which was held to tackle this issue. In addition to this, I addressed the Iraqi ruler through more than one letter and speech. You heard my speech during the celebration of the graduation of the young paratroopers. It was a speech of enlightenment, brotherhood, hope, and warning. You also heard the letter that I addressed to him only two days before the deadline to withdraw from Kuwait, as set by the United Nations. This is in addition to my speech at the Arab summit. The categorical rejection of every opinion, proposal, or piece of advice, however, was the Iraqi leadership's only answer, whether to Syria or others.

Thus the doors were closed and what happened, happened. The Arabs lost a great deal, and Israel won a great deal, politically, economically, and militarily, so much

so that it would appear that what happened had been planned and implemented for the sake of Israel. All the Arab states lost politically, economically, and militarily. Some of these losses are long-term ones. Iraq's economic, military, and political capabilities were destroyed, and the blockade was imposed on the fraternal Iraqi people. What pains the Iraqi people pains us, and what pleases them pleases us. The suffering of the Iraqi people is a suffering for us all. The Iraqi leadership must find a way out to ease and remove this suffering. We have always wished to stand alongside the Iraqi people because they are fraternal people, but the Iraqi leadership has always been an obstacle between us and these fraternal people. This is an issue known to the Iraqi people and their strugglers.

Brothers, Arab contradictions were exacerbated following the Gulf war, and ties became weak at a time when all sides needed cooperation and solidarity. Regardless of obstacles, we must work diligently with other Arab brothers to rectify the Arab course on firm, sound, and realistic bases in order to remove obstacles hindering joint Arab action. We are aware that some foreign forces do not want to see the Arabs reach an understanding, achieve solidarity, and cooperate on the basis of a unified and clear vision. The history of mankind, however, proves that the issues of a nation are decided by the will of the nation, and therefore solidarity is necessary even if the road is rough.

O Arab brothers, no matter how great our hardships are, surrender is not our option. If we have experienced difficult circumstances and are still experiencing them, we must not be infiltrated by weakness. Despite all that has happened in our Arab fold and in the world, we should not at all forget that we possess a great deal of the political, military, and economic elements of power with which we can overcome our difficulties and defend ourselves. The most important element of power that we possess as a base—the doer, and the activator—is man, because man is the one who produces and builds politics, produces and builds the economy, and produces and builds defense. Defense, before it was technology, was man with his will, resolution, and determination. We have examples of this in this age and in all ages.

Human wealth for us is not only a quantity but is also a heritage, history, and civilization, and results in thought, will, and determination. Monotheistic religions emerged in our land, and from our good land these religions were conveyed to the world by advocates and messengers. Our sciences and civilization are the ones on which others based their sciences and civilization.

A great nation with these characteristics does not fear predicaments nor lose its will due to international changes and internal shakeups, despite the seriousness of all this. A nation with such characteristics remains steadfast in the face of dangers no matter how great these are. It keeps its head high, confident of itself and its victory. A nation with such characteristics greatly

befriends those who befriend it and seriously antagonizes those who antagonize it. It does not look down on others, and vice versa. Our nation, the nation of the Arabs, presented to mankind what it can boast of forever. [applause] I am confident that our nation will overcome the predicament. Perseverance and continuous work will achieve the desired great results. What we accomplished in sisterly Lebanon confirms that hope and work can defeat despair and failure. Syria's success in ending the civil war in Lebanon and in achieving national accord and constitutional reforms, as well as in establishing the state constitutional institutions and these institutions' carrying out of their duties, could not have been possible had it not been for work, determination, and patience. What we accomplished in Lebanon, after many had despaired of seeing Lebanon become cured and healthy again, is an asset for us and the Arab nation toward reunion and the restoration of the unity of the road and the unity of action in the Arab arena.

Brothers, Israel attempts to exploit this Arab situation in particular and the international one in general. However, this attempt is certainly doomed to failure because it is exposed to the entire world and cannot but be exposed. No international circumstance like the present ones can turn the results of aggression into rights for the aggressor in violation of the UN Charter and resolutions, as well as the sublime international laws. The current international circumstances cannot cancel out the peoples' will and inalienable rights, especially because the international community today more than before underscores international legitimacy and the implementation of UN resolutions, adherence to the UN Charter, and respect for international laws.

It is known that it was Syria that opened the road to peace when it approved the U.S. initiative, which is based on the implementation of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and the exchange of land for peace, and this is what is meant by these resolutions. The Israeli Government had earlier rejected the initiative, as expressed in its message to the U.S. Administration. Syria did so out of its desire to achieve peace and because it was committed to Resolution 338, which contains Resolution 242, after the 1973 October war. Our desire for peace is confirmed by all talks, speeches, and discussions between us and all others elsewhere who discussed the peace process with us. The October war stopped in accordance with Resolution 338, which consisted of three paragraphs, as far as I remember. The second and basic paragraph of this resolution is in itself Resolution 242. When we accepted Resolution 338 we had implicitly and practically accepted Resolution 242. Since then we have been saying that we want peace on the basis of 338 and 242 and through the formula of an international conference. Of course, our conditions and demands remain the same, they have not changed, and they will not change—not today, not tomorrow, not ever. [applause]

Often I have told all foreigners who came to our country with an interest in the peace process that Israel does not

want peace. Israel does not want peace, especially because its rulers think that the international circumstances are appropriate to realize more ambitions and to carry out further occupation, and not to give up the territories that they had earlier occupied. They did not believe that because over a long period of time, Israel brainwashed many people into believing that the Israelis are simple people who seek peace, security, and freedom while the Arabs seek only war, killing, slaughter, death, terrorism, and so forth.

One of the good things about the peace process, or about the past four months and the talks between the Arabs and the Israelis, is that the peace process has clearly revealed the falseness of this to all people, except for those who have neither sight nor insight. Nobody is now ignorant of the fact that Israel is hostile to peace and obstructs it. Syria has responded to the U.S. initiative out of its desire to achieve peace, and because it has been committed to Resolution 338, including Resolution 242, which is part of it. Since then Syria has been talking about peace on the basis of this resolution. When the Government of Israel found that Syria and the Arabs all accepted the initiative and agreed to participate in the peace process, it decided to participate, although, as I have said, it closed the doors to peace when the initiative was first launched. Israel decided to participate, however, because it is not in its interest to boycott the peace initiative before the whole world, particularly because the world is asking for peace and the implementation of international resolutions everywhere. So, instead of obstructing the peace process by boycotting it, which would not please the international community, it has decided, as has been apparent from its conduct during the talks, to obstruct the peace process through its participation in it, in order to prevent it from succeeding.

Months have now passed and everything is still as it was, except for the image that the rulers of Israel used to imprint on the minds of others—that is, the image of a people who are seeking day and night to achieve peace with the Arabs while the Arabs always talk about war, not peace. The vast majority of the world, especially in the West, accepts this image as a true one. This had been a deep-seated image in their minds. But now the image has been reversed; everyone is now convinced that the Arabs want peace and Israel rejects it.

For our part in Syria, we are not surprised because we are convinced that the rulers of Israel do not want peace. We stated this time and again prior to the start of the current peace process. Look at those who have for a long time maintained that we do not want peace, and how they changed their conviction because when they used to talk to us about peace, they did not keep in mind that Israel wants peace and land. This is despite the fact that we have always told them that the peace that the rulers of Israel want is for the Arabs to come and sign the deeds surrendering their occupied lands, and these deeds will be called the deeds of peace.

I say that the convictions of people everywhere have changed. We hope that everyone will publicly speak of their new convictions. Many indeed have begun to do so. Naturally, the entire world knows that the Arabs will not give up their land, not today, not any day, nor in the foreseeable and distant future. The head of the Israeli Government has repeatedly said that he clings to peace and the land of Israel. This land of Israel, as he means at this stage, includes the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, and the Golan. So what peace is it that they cling to? He affirmed this himself when he spoke at the Madrid conference and told others that 28,000 km of territory is such a small area for Israel. But 28,000 km represent the expanse of all of Palestine, including Gaza, the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Golan as well. If we try to learn where he came up with that figure, all we have to do is add up the area of these territories and we will have the figure he mentioned.

Anyway, they are increasingly revealing themselves and their expansionist ambitions to the world. This in itself is in the interest of the Arabs. As for us, the Arabs, we want peace through the implementation of the UN resolutions on whose basis the peace process was launched. If this is the case, then we want peace. Otherwise, let us and let them leave matters to the future because we are not in a hurry.

Israel, which is obstructing and impeding peace, is asking the United States to play a pirate role at sea and to intercept vessels traveling to Syria and other countries because these vessels carry weapons and missiles that threaten Middle Eastern security. Israel is acting as though it were a superpower; it is giving orders to other superpowers, not the opposite. Israel wants to take \$10 billion by force from the United States and wants the United States to impose a siege on the Arabs, with regard to certain matters that Israel itself determines.

At the same time, Israel is discussing with the United States the development, financing, and production of new antiballistic missiles without caring how the United States will implement the order it has received from Israel, without caring about the legal basis that the United States would have to advance if it were to engage in such conduct, and without caring about the fact that it is the United States which launched the peace initiative. How then would the situation look when the United States sponsors the peace negotiations launched at its initiative—the initiative in turn grounded in UN resolutions—and at the same time lays siege to Syria and the other Arab states? How can the United States strike a balance between the big slogan it raises that there is a new world, the world of justice and that of international legitimacy, the world of freedom of the people and their equality, while in the meantime preventing missiles from reaching Syria? I tell you that all that you hear now is not true. These vessels of which they speak are not carrying missiles for Syria. We have missiles, and we will bring missiles in accordance to our needs. [applause]

How would the United States strike this balance if we were to presume that it would implement the Israeli command, between this talk on the one hand and confiscating ships bound for Syria or preventing them from reaching their destination because they are carrying weapons, whether missiles or not, on the other, while Israeli factories manufacture all types of weapons every day and every hour, and while Israel builds arms using U.S. funds and also uses U.S. technology and funds to build arms, especially missiles, particularly the Arrow [preceding word in English, followed by its Arabic translation] missile? How can the door be opened to the Israelis to produce all types of weapons, without any limits, while Syria is besieged and is prevented from importing arms?

Look at this deception, this misrepresentation of facts. Arms reduction is the slogan raised to prevent missiles from reaching Syria. Arms reduction in this case means depriving the Arabs of weapons. If this is what is meant by arms reduction—that is, if these measures mean arms reduction, if the Arabs are denied the chance to import arms at a time when the Israelis are allowed to produce arms—then this will eventually cause the Arabs to become disarmed. How can this be in line with the new world which is said to be the world of international legitimacy? What legitimacy is this? This is the legitimacy of the jungle, the legitimacy of the beasts. [applause]

And if this were enforced, then they are working to enforce peace but are not for peace. They are working to impose capitulation on us and not to realize together a just and comprehensive peace as was agreed upon at the time.

If they want arms reduction then the first thing that they should do is to close the Israeli plants that produce nuclear bombs and missiles, the electron [preceding word in English], the tank, artillery, the rifle, the gun, and all kinds of weapons both small and large. If the abundance of weapons leads to war, and the world does not want war—and by nature man's hobby is not war, but also by nature and instinct man's hobby is an eagerness to restore his rights—and if the abundance of weapons harms the peace process, then this is what they should discuss objectively, scientifically, and logically. Let them ban production and rather import their weapons. Then we and others could adopt a different stand, and we could respect the slogans we hear about the new world being a world of justice and fairness. We cooperate with this world, but mistaken will be those who believe that we will give up one iota of our will and decisionmaking, if it is right to divide the will and decisionmaking into iotas.

I want to remind you that we discussed the subject of weapons at a meeting with a U.S. official at the start of the movement that they embarked on which was called a movement to realize peace. I told the U.S. official that we do not manufacture the weapons that we need but that Israel manufactures what it needs and more. When

the subject is presented, it should be presented in a comprehensive manner and then we will have a viewpoint. He said this should be taken into consideration. Actually, I cannot say that up to now the United States has agreed with Israel's thoughts on this subject because we have nothing substantial. But we see, and it is clear, that Israel wants to push the United States and the West in general to a position which will drag back the region many years in all aspects of life and history.

We want to achieve arms limitation, although I believe that the attainment of peace constitutes the objective, proper condition for limiting arms. If they want to achieve arms limitation before the attainment of peace, then let us discuss the subject in a comprehensive and fair manner. Either we manufacture—and in order to manufacture we should be given the factories from the others—or, and this may seem totally theoretical, either we the Arabs and Israel should have the full opportunity to manufacture, or manufacturing should be banned for all.

There is another issue. You must have heard how much they talked about Syria and the weapons it receives. Those who listen to their radios imagine that what we have imported during this phase was more than what we imported throughout our entire history. This is untrue. What we have imported is not equal to even a small fraction of what the United States gives in military aid to Israel in one year.

Every year, the United States gives Israel—this figure is from the year before last—\$1.8 billion for military purposes. How can they then stop the importation of the missiles and not stop the cost of that missile from going to Israel? Is this an import or export item for the U.S. budget? The figure is \$1.8 billion. Our resources, of course, do not allow us to spend such a huge amount of money. We may be able to spend hundreds of millions of dollars, which we earn by our effort and sweat and by the effort and sweat of our people. They, however, spend money earned by American citizens' effort and sweat. We have heard, and you have heard, from U.S. officials who visited the region, including Israel, that millions of people in the United States are in need of millions, or even a few dollars. It is known that in the United States.... [pauses] A U.S. congressman, Robert Dole, visited Syria and then went to Israel at a time when Israel was requesting \$400 million to build houses for new immigrants. He said in Israel: We will give you the \$400 million while we have millions of Americans without houses. They give them money in order to build houses for people who immigrated from their countries to the region. They also want to give them money for the weapons they import and manufacture in Israel, money earned by American effort and sweat. Anyway, this is democracy. This is democracy. [applause]

Every year the aid amounted to \$3 billion. Last year, as President Bush said, they gave them \$4 billion. I do not recall how much of this was in military aid, but I think it

was up to \$2.5 billion. Still, they say that Syria has imported, modernized, and done whatever.

At any rate, the majority of people in the West seem to have a better understanding of Arab realities and the reality of Syria. Furthermore, it seems that this majority also has a better understanding of Israel's reality and intentions.

We have stated time and again, and we state now, that we want peace, the peace that returns the territory, restores rights, and establishes security in the region. Anything short of that means capitulation, and no power on earth can impose capitulation on us. Never.

Whoever thinks he can constrain our will or usurp our decision must be miserable, because he is a failure and ignorant. Whoever thinks that global changes will lead to people's capitulating to evil parties or an oppressive force must be miserable because he has failed to comprehend the story of humankind or grasp its morals and significance. Neither has he understood that the social and psychic fabric of nations make them deduce from each new circumstance the essence of the elements and resources that should make them able to adapt and face new challenges. Nations always have sufficient capabilities that grow and bear fruit at historic milestones that carry with them their inherent challenges.

Brother citizens, there is in each one of you an intrinsic potential that your homeland urges you to tap in order to be part of the resources of this homeland. If you fail to build your defenses and defend your country for yourselves, no one else will do the job for you. If you do not build your economy with your money, sweat, and efforts, you will not be spared from want, nor will your needs be fulfilled. If you do not strengthen your homeland by building its economy, defenses, culture, and national unity, the homeland will not grow strong. You alone are capable of realizing this comprehensive process of construction, with each one of you working hard in his own setting, being truthful to himself, his countrymen, and

his homeland—the student in his school or university, the worker in his factory, and the peasant on his land. The same situation exists for the physician, the pharmacist, the engineer, the trader, the merchant, the lawyer, and every man and woman. Let our relationship as citizens be one of love and compassion; this is a sign of strength for the individual and the homeland, the strength of which will rub off on everything in the homeland.

Great people, brother citizens, my words fail to express how I feel and cannot begin to describe how I feel toward you. Each one of you is a son or daughter, brother or sister. I will do all I can for your good and wellbeing. I pray to God that He will grant me success in achieving your goals and aspirations, and God is strong and mighty. Let us all love one another and walk side by side under the banner of faith in God and faith in the homeland. [applause]

Brothers, in your name, I send salutations, love, and pledge to remain truthful to our Palestinian people in the occupied territories who are striving against occupation. [applause] In your name, I also send salutations to our children in the Syrian Golan Heights, and we tell to them that you are returning and we are returning. [applause] In your name, I send salutations to the heroes of resistance in southern Lebanon whose heroism and faith have been borne out over the years. [applause] In your name, I send salutations of love and appreciation to our sons—the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, and officers in the Syrian Arab Army who stand ever ready for self-sacrifice in defense of their homeland and brothers in Lebanon and anywhere else in the Arab homeland that may be subjected to danger. [applause] We revere the martyrs of the homeland, the ever-burning light, the endless good, and the inexhaustible store, and the spear that never bends. [applause]

Great people, we thank you, you have our love, our dear brothers and sons. Thank you, brothers and sisters, members of the People's Assembly, and may you enjoy the peace and blessings of God. [applause]

Afghanistan**Rabbani Urges UN To Oppose Kabul Role in Talks***LD1203192492 Tehran IRNA in English 1503 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] Islamabad, March 12, IRNA—Leader of Jam'iyat-e Eslami (Islamic Society) of Afghanistan Burhanuddin Rabbani today asked the United Nations to formally announce its opposition to any direct or indirect participation of the Kabul regime's representatives in the talks planned on the future of Afghanistan. Any political solution for the Afghan issue requires the consent of all Afghan mujahedin groups, said Rabbani in a meeting with U.N. special envoy on Afghanistan, Benon Sevon, in Peshawar. Sevon briefed Rabbani on the proposed broad-based meeting in Geneva involving some 150 leading Afghan figures, for finding a political solution to the Afghan crisis, said mujahedin sources. The U.N. envoy is to visit Kabul to make preparations for the said meeting to be held in late April. In Peshawar, Sevon will hold talks with other mujahedin leaders including Golbuddin Hekmatyar of the Hezb-e Eslami (Islamic Party). However, no meeting has been planned with 'Abdol Rasul Sayyaf of the Etehad-e Eslami (Islamic Unity), since the latter had rejected an earlier request by Sevon for a meeting.

Bangladesh**Ershad Relative, Wife of Former Official Arrested***BK1203161292 Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network
in English 1530 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] Police today arrested Zeenat Mosharraf, wife of former Industry Secretary Mosharraf Hussain, and Mostafizur Rahman, a relation of former President Ershad.

UNB [UNITED NEWS OF BANGLADESH], quoting police sources, say both of them were immediately sent to Dhaka Central Jail.

Illness Kills 35 Burmese Refugees in Camps*BK1003161992 Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network
in English 1530 GMT 10 Mar 92*

[Text] According to officials in Cox's Bazar, the death toll in different [Burmese Muslim] refugee camps in the district has risen to 35. More than 25,000 refugees are affected by various diseases like diarrhea, malaria, and dysentery.

Twelve medical teams and three NGO's [nongovernment organizations] are rendering medical services to the affected people of different camps.

Iran**Turkish Envoy Given Protest Over Cargo Seizure***NC1303071792 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic
of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT
13 Mar 92*

[Text] A court in Istanbul issued a verdict in the case of the Cape Maleas Cypriot-registered vessel. The verdict stipulates that the vessel will be impounded and its cargo confiscated. Turkish authorities detained the Cape Maleas while it passed through the Bosphorus on 22 October 1991 with a cargo bound for the Islamic Republic of Iran. AFP reports that the Istanbul court sentenced the ship's captain, who had been hired by the Islamic Republic of Iran, to five years in prison and fined him 50,000 Turkish lira, the equivalent of \$800.

Following the publication of this report, last night at midnight the Foreign Ministry summoned the Turkish ambassador. The deputy foreign minister for Asia and Oceania lodged a vehement protest on behalf of the country against the Turkish court's illogical and unprincipled decision, describing it as a violation of international rights and mutual commercial relations among nations. He described the verdict as invalid and unacceptable to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The deputy foreign minister requested that the Turkish Government reimburse Iran for all expenses resulting from the vessel's illegal impoundment, its cargo, and other damages, both material and other, as soon as possible.

During the meeting the Turkish ambassador was informed that the Islamic Republic of Iran expects the Turkish Government to handle this sensitive and important issue expeditiously and sagaciously and to take the necessary steps to swiftly resolve this issue.

DPRK Protest to U.S. on Shipping Affair Cited*LD1203181292 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic
of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1630 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] The DPRK today rejected reports that a DPRK ship carried an arms shipment to the Middle East. The DPRK vice president said: Reports about the ship's mission are completely baseless.

The DPRK Foreign Ministry also issued a statement strongly condemning U.S. interference in the DPRK's shipping affairs.

Velayati Talks With Azerbaijani, Armenian Leaders*LD1203173892 Tehran IRNA in English 1348 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] Tehran, March 12, IRNA—The prime minister of Azerbaijan Republic Gasan Gasanov today called on Iran's Minister of Foreign Affairs 'Ali Akbar Velayati to

ask the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to prevent escalation of hostilities between the two warring republics over Karabakh. Speaking with Velayati in a telephone conversation, Gasanov said fighting had now spread to the Azeri city of Agdam. Following the call, Velayati in a separate telephone contact with Ter-Petrosyan appealed to him to use his influence to prevent further bloodshed in the area. Ter-Petrosyan appreciated Iran's mediation efforts, saying he will call on Armenian officials in Karabakh and will do his best to stop the fighting. Also he told Velayati that an Armenian delegation will soon visit Tehran to follow up the negotiations. Iran's mediation efforts to bring the Karabakh fighting to an end continue.

President Speaks With Rival Leaders

*LD1203173192 Tehran IRNA in English 1440 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] Tehran, March 12, IRNA—In a telephone conversation with President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani today, prime minister of the Azerbaijan Republic, Gasan Gasanov, called for immediate political measures to stop the ongoing clashes in Karabakh. Later Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani spoke with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on the telephone, and expressed his concern over the escalation of the clashes in Karabakh. He urged Petrosyan to do his best to stop the clashes in the Agdam region of Karabakh involving Azerbaijanis and Armenians. President Petrosyan welcomed Iran's humanitarian efforts to stop the killing of innocent people, and promised to do his best to end the clashes. He took note of Iran's important role in the region, and asked for stepped up Iranian efforts to settle the Caucasus crises.

ICO Delegation Visits En Route to Baku

*LD1203183992 Tehran IRNA in English 1703 GMT
12 Mar 92*

[Text] Tehran, March 12, IRNA—A delegation commissioned by the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) Secretary General Hamid al-Ghabid to mediate between Azerbaijan and Armenia, arrived in Tehran on its way to Baku on a two day stay. The delegation headed by OIC deputy chief Mohammad Mohsen is to be informed of Iran's mediation efforts between the two belligerent republics of the former Soviet Union to end bloody clashes over disputed Karabakh region. Earlier,

the OIC secretary general sent a letter to Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati urging the Islamic Republic to continue its mediation efforts between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Pakistan

Prime Minister Comments on Regional Nuclear Talks

*BK1203162892 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network
in Urdu 1500 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has strongly ruled out the possibility of dissolving the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad alliance and said that it will come out with more vigor after its upcoming meeting. Speaking to newsmen upon his arrival at Lahore from Islamabad today, he said that he has held talks with Jamaat-i-Islami chief Qazi Hussain Ahmed and will discuss important issues in the next meeting. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question the prime minister said that China's accession to the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty will not affect Pakistan's proposal for a five-nation conference to make the region nuclear free. He added: During my various meetings with the Indian prime minister I proposed to him resolving this issue through bilateral negotiations.

Views Minister's Firing, Corruption

*BK1203122292 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network
in English 1100 GMT 12 Mar 92*

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, has said he believes in clean politics and cannot tolerate politics of sabotage, disruption, and double standards. Talking to newsmen in Lahore today, he said it was high time that politics of hypocrisy should be eliminated from the country.

Replying to a question, he said Mr. Ghulam Murtaza Jatoi had been sacked as federal communications minister as he was trying to ride two boats simultaneously. He said his ouster would in no way affect efforts being made for national reconstruction.

Referring to the cooperative finance companies and corporations scandal, the prime minister said he was grateful to Almighty Allah that he was absolved of all charges leveled against him by the opposition. He said a meeting is being held under his chairmanship later today to discuss as to how the affectees of the cooperative societies would get their deposits back.